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Japonisme in Polish Pictorial Arts (1885 – 1939)

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**Submitted as a partial requirement for the degree of doctor of philosophy awarded by
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Abstract

This thesis chronicles the development of Polish Japonisme between 1885 and 1939. It focuses mainly on painting and graphic arts, and selected aspects of photography, design and architecture. Appropriation from Japanese sources triggered the articulation of new visual and conceptual languages which helped forge new art and art educational paradigms that would define the modern age.

Starting with Polish fin-de-siècle Japonisme, it examines the role of Western European artistic centres, mainly Paris, in the initial dissemination of Japonisme in Poland, and considers the exceptional case of Julian Fałat, who had first-hand experience of Japan. The second phase of Polish Japonisme (1901-1918) was nourished on local, mostly Cracovian, infrastructure put in place by the ‘godfather’ of Polish Japonisme Feliks Manggha Jasiński. His pro-Japonisme agency is discussed at length. Considerable attention is given to the political incentive provided by the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war in 1904, which rendered Japan as Poland’s ally against its Russian oppressor. The first two decades of the 20th century are regarded as the ‘Renaissance’ of Japonisme in Poland, and it is this part of the thesis that explores Japanese inspirations as manifested in the genres of portraiture, still life, landscape, representations of flora and fauna, erotic imagery, and caricature. Japonisme in graphic and applied graphic arts, including the poster, is also discussed.

The existence of the taste for Japanese art in the West after 1918 is less readily acknowledged than that of the preceding decades. The third phase of Polish Japonisme (1919-1939) helps challenge the tacit conviction that Japanese art stopped functioning as an inspirational force around 1918. This part of the thesis examines the nationalisation of heretofore private resources of Japanese art in Cracow and Warsaw, and the inauguration of official cultural exchange between Poland and Japan. Polish Japonisme within École de Paris, both before 1918 and thereafter, inspired mainly by the painting of Fougita Tsuguharu, is an entirely new contribution to the field. Although Japanese inspirations frequently appeared in Polish painting of the interwar period, it was the graphic arts that became most receptive to the Japanese aesthetic at that time. The thesis includes a case study of Leon Wyczółkowski’s interbellum Japonisme, and interprets it as patriotic transpositions of the work of Hiroshige and the Japanese genre of meisho-e. Japonisme in Polish design and architecture is addressed only in the context of the creation of Polish national style in design (1901-1939).

Art schools in Britain and America became important centres for Japonisme at the beginning of the 20th century. The thesis considers the case of Cracow Academy of Fine Arts, which due to radical changes introduced by its new director Julian Fałat, became an important centre for the dissemination of the taste for Japanese art in Poland.

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I would like to mention that it was my MA research supervisor, Dr John Carpenter of the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), who drew my attention to the subject of Polish Japonisme and who generously supported my application for the PhD course. For directing me to the ideal supervisors at Chelsea College of Art and Design, I remain grateful to Professor Craig Clunas and Professor Timon Screech.

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Introduction

My interest in Japan, and its culture began in the late 1990s, when I embarked on a BA course in Japanese and Art History at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London. It was during the second year spent studying at Kyoto University of Foreign Studies in Japan, that my interest gained momentum. Upon return to SOAS, I made a resolution to follow my BA course with an MA programme in Art History. At that time I began to be increasingly interested in the cultural and artistic relationships between Japan and the West.

The research for my MA thesis: ‘The Pictorial Biography of the Zen Priest Dôgen from the National Museum in Cracow: An Example of Tokugawa Sôtô Sectarian Propaganda’ (2005) took me back to Poland, where I grew up. It was then that I came to the realisation that, to my surprise, there was an intriguing history of the taste for Japanese art in Poland. One of the largest collections of Japanese art in Europe, assembled by Feliks Manggha Jasieński over a century ago, was a tangible reminder of the Polish Japanese craze. Towards the end of my MA course, the subject of Polish Japonisme was suggested to me by my MA supervisor Dr. John Carpenter as a potential direction for my future research. At first, it appeared that there would not be enough material to structure a PhD project. In fact, throughout my entire primary, secondary and university education in Poland, I never came across any references to Polish Japonisme, but it soon dawned on me that much of Polish art of the Young Poland and the interwar periods drew upon Japanese art. During the second half of the 20th century, the subject of Polish Japonisme seems to have been a forgotten episode of Polish history. With few notable exceptions (discussed in the literature review), it received little attention in communist Poland, in academia and otherwise.

Eventually in 1994, at the instigation of the world renowned film director Andrzej Wajda, the Mannggha Centre of Japanese Art and Technology was founded in Cracow. It marked the beginning of a new wave of Polish interest in Japan and its culture.

The Definition of Japonisme and Related Terminology

From the various terms that have been used historically to designate the phenomenon under investigation (Japonisme, Japonaiserie, Japonnerie, Japanism, Japonismus), ‘Japonisme’ was selected as the most appropriate denomination for the present thesis. The term was coined by Philippe Burty, who defined it as ‘the study of the art and genius of

Japan'.¹ As shown by Toshio Watanabe, Burty's definition of Japonisme should be interpreted in a broader sense as 'a pro-Japan attitude and its manifestations in the West', rather than merely the study of Japanese art (Watanabe 2012, 215). Within the field of art history, the term 'Japonisme' has usually been applied with reference to the late 19th-century predominantly French fashion for Japan which manifested itself primarily in visual culture. Throughout this thesis, however, 'Japonisme' represents a considerably wider meaning in more than one sense. Firstly, as opposed to being used to describe the specific 19th-century French trend in art and popular culture, it denotes a taste for Japanese art and aesthetics in general without any confinement to and particular historical period. Secondly, it signifies all manifestations of that taste, including inspirations in visual and other arts, art collecting, scholarship, other types of writing on the subject of Japan, and even art education. Thirdly, it is used in Polish, rather than French context.

The term 'Japonaiserie', introduced for the first time by the Goncourt brothers as a substitute for chinoiserie (Ikegami 1967, 6), is used here to refer to the incorporation of actual Japanese works of art and other *objects d'art* into western (Polish) works of art. Used in this way, 'Japonaiserie' is a narrower designation than 'Japonisme'.

The historical uses of the various above-mentioned terms referring to the phenomenon in question have not been consistent² and it was only from 1980 that the term 'Japonisme' gained a relative supremacy. The reason for such a precise date as the turning point is the fact that the four major publications on the subject that came out that year used the term 'Japonisme'. Interestingly, with the diversification of the study of the taste for Japanese art into areas other than France, the ascendancy of the term 'Japonisme' is being challenged. One of the major outcomes of the recent AHRC research project carried out by the Research Centre for Transnational Art, Identity and Nation (TrAIN) at the University of the Arts London called *Forgotten Japonisme: the Taste for Japanese Art in Britain and the USA: 1920s-1950s* was the reassessment of the term 'Japonisme'. With the intention of giving agency to the autonomous Anglo-American phenomenon, which took place in the English-speaking world of Britain and North America, the organisers opted for a move away from the French centrality, eventually altering the title of the project to include the English translation of the French term 'Japonisme': *Trans-war Japonism: Shaping Taste in Britain, Japan and*

¹ The term was used first in a series of articles entitled 'Japonisme' published in the journal *La Renaissance littéraire et artistique* between 1872 and 1873, the definition of Japonisme as 'the study of the art and genius of Japan', however, was formulated by Burty in a 1875 article 'Japonism' published in Britain.

² For the discussion of the uses of the term 'Japonisme' in a historical context and with reference to other similar terms see: Watanabe 2012.

North America: 1910s-1960s. Considering that the Polish strand of the taste for Japanese art and aesthetics stemmed out – at least in its initial phases and in the case of the École de Paris even in the interwar period – from the French precedent, the French-origin designation ‘Japonisme’ was chosen for the present study.

Besides the terms ‘Japonisme’ and ‘Japonaiserie’, the derivative noun ‘Japoniste’ is also used throughout the thesis to describe a person/artist etc. who displays a pro-Japan attitude. Finally, the term ‘Japonisant’ functions as an adjective derived from ‘Japonisme’.

Methodology and Theory

The prime rationale for this work was to present the phenomenon of Polish Japonisme in pictorial arts between 1885 and 1939 in as comprehensive a manner as possible, mapping out the relevant facts and provide an understanding of this phenomenon. To achieve this goal it was necessary to look beyond the body of already acknowledged examples of Japanese inspirations and to attempt to unearth those that have not been so far classified as such. Considering that the subject of Japanese inspirations in Polish art is a relatively new area of research, the objective of compiling a large corpus of Japonisme material for the study of the subject was all the more relevant. Thus the identification of such works by Polish artists became an important part of the research process. Although cataloguing Polish Japonisme was not regarded as an ultimate goal in itself, amassing abundant and heterogeneous material relating to the trend in question was imperative to the task of forming a comprehensive panoramic view. Consequently, the method employed during the initial phase of the research process, which consisted predominantly in data collection, could be termed as an ‘archaeological’ approach. Considering that during the recent decades a considerable number of Polish artworks from the relevant period have resurfaced, the objective of detecting previously unknown Japonisme works appeared all the more attainable. For instance, the oeuvre of Olga Boznańska, as known to scholarship before the 1990s, with the exception of several paintings, had not allowed for a striking case of the artist’s Japanese inclinations. Due to recently re-emerged paintings, however, her profound Japonisme came to light in the 2006 exhibition at the Manggha Centre of Japanese Art & Technology (Król 2006). This ‘archaeological’ methodology had previously been employed, albeit on a smaller scale, by Łukasz Kossowski in his pioneering research of Polish Japonisme (1981) and by Siegfried Wichmann for the identification of Japonisme in Euro-American art (1980).

The first steps of the project revolved around the analysis of existing literature on the subject with a special focus on identifying collections likely to contain relevant artworks.

Prior to conducting the search in museums, galleries and private collections, the boundaries of what Japonisme is had to be clearly defined. Rather than adopting the narrow definition of Japonisme understood as Japanese inspirations in western art, in this case Polish, a much wider interpretation of the term was adopted, whereby all manifestations of the taste for Japan and Japanese art were also embraced. Therefore, the search in archives and collections had the broad objective of finding all types of evidence of the taste for Japanese art: Japonisme artworks, writings relating to the subject, photographic documentation, and of course collections of Japanese art.

Broadly speaking, there are two types of Japanese inspirations in painting and graphic arts. The representation of Japanese objects, Japanese genre scenes, and the inclusion of other direct visual ‘quotations’ of Japanese culture constitutes the first of the two and is comparatively easier to discern in collections of art. Identifying examples of this category required the knowledge of what can be classified as Japanese. It is important to note that, when sifting through collections of art, besides Japanese inclusions, Chinese ones were an additional criterion of search. During the period under research, Chinese objects were frequently depicted alongside Japanese ones, and even more often, due to the lack of familiarity with East Asian culture, they were mistaken by artists for Japanese ones. Therefore, an eye for both Japanese and Chinese detail was a useful tool in unearthing Japonisme works.

The other category of Japanese inspirations in pictorial arts consists of works that employ formal solutions and pictorial devices borrowed from Japanese artistic traditions, from particular Japanese artists and occasionally from specific Japanese paintings or prints.³ This variety of Japonisme is considerably more problematic to detect for two reasons. Firstly, to the uninformed eye, these works do not betray obvious references to Japan, and could pass undetected when scrutinising collections of art. Secondly, by no means can all examples of Polish works of art employing those formal or stylistic devices that have been acknowledged as borrowings from Japanese art be regarded as Japonisme. Because Japonisme had developed earlier in Western Europe than it reached Poland, many of the artistic devices originally appropriated from Japan by French, British, Austrian, German and other Western European artists had infiltrated the European art scene by the beginning of the twentieth century. As a consequence, in many cases, these ‘secondary’ Japanese borrowings in Polish art cannot in all cases be classified as Japonisme, in other words, they cannot be treated as the results of conscious and direct recourses to Japanese art as an inspirational source. The search

³ For the list of the formal pictorial devices see pages 18 and 19.

of art collections for this project did produce a large number of such works of art. In order to differentiate between genuine examples of Japonisme and those that I have termed 'secondary' borrowings, other criteria had to be taken into consideration, namely circumstantial evidence attesting to the existence of obvious Japonisme works in the oeuvres of given artists or other indicators of an artist's exposure to Japanese art and his or her Japanese leanings.

Once the specifics of what was to be looked for were delineated, the research turned to the question of where to look for Japonisme. Establishing what artistic oeuvres were probable to be relevant sources of Japonisme art works was an important task. The list of pertinent artists was headed by such recognized Japonistes as Leon Wyczółkowski, Wojciech Weiss, Józef Pankiewicz, Julian Fałat, Olga Boznańska, Karol Frycz, Jan Stanisławski, Ferdynand Ruszczyc, Adam Bunsch, Witold Wojtkiewicz, Kazimierz Sichulski, and a few others. Although the Japonisme of these artists had already been recognised to a certain extent, the search was successful in identifying new unacknowledged examples of Japanese inspirations. In addition, certain existing interpretations of acknowledged Japonisme paintings and prints by avowed Japonistes were challenged by offering new readings.

Then there were, of course, artists known for only occasional recourse to Japanese art as an inspirational force, or even those with singular known examples of Japonisme in their oeuvres. The list of these two categories of artists was rather long, but as it turned out, in many respects, it produced surprisingly original findings, which in turn permitted to make cases for more complex relationships between these artists and Japanese art than previously thought. Good examples of such artists are: Feliks Jasiński, Eugeniusz Zak, Gustaw Gwozdecki, Włodzimierz Terlikowski, Józef Hecht, Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz, Władysław Ślewiński, Jacek Malczewski, Rafał Malczewski, Roman Kochanowski, Włodzimierz Błocki, Stefan Filipkiewicz, Marcin Samlicki, Alfons Karpiński, Stanisław Kamocki, Edward Okuń, Wiktoria Goryńska, Zofia Stankiewicz, Janina Konarska, Wanda Komorowska, and many others.

The search of collections progressed in a somewhat unpredicted manner, producing findings that indicated also entirely new oeuvres likely to include Japonisme works, and therefore worth investigating. This most certainly was the case with the graphic output of Władysław Bielecki. Having stumbled upon a print by this artist (fig. 1968) which appeared to bear a striking formal resemblance to certain examples of the Japanese ukiyo-e subgenre of uki-e (perspectival pictures), and especially to those that depict the interiors of Japanese Kabuki theatres, a further in-depth formal analysis confirmed that in this case the relationship between the print and Japanese prototypes goes beyond a mere coincidence. This discovery suggested probable existence of other Japanising art works within Bielecki's oeuvre. Indeed,

having examined the collection of his prints at the National Museum in Cracow, it soon transpired that the vast majority of Bielecki's woodblock output should be regarded as the results of Japanese inspirations. Following Kossowski's publication (1981), few artists have been identified by scholarship as Japonistes. Though the series of exhibitions mounted by the manggha Centre/Museum of Japanese Art and Technology in Cracow succeeded in expanding the scope of Polish Japonisme by providing first in-depth studies of the Japonisme of individual artists (Boznańska, Stanisławski, Wyspiański, Weiss, Fałat and Wyczółkowski), since Kossowski's identification it has not connected any new artists to the phenomenon of Japonisme (with the exception of Włodzimierz Błocki).

The bulk of Japonisme art works gathered during the search came from the following institutions: Bielsko-Biała Museum, Cracow Academy of Fine Arts Archive, Historical Museum in Cracow, Museum of Middle Pomerania in Słupsk, The National Museum in Poznań, The National Museum in Warsaw, Princes Czartoryskis Library in Cracow, Theatre Museum in Warsaw, University of Warsaw Library, Wawel State Collections of Art, Wojciech Weiss Foundation Museum, Leon Wyczółkowski Museum in Bydgoszcz, The Library of Jagiellonian University in Cracow, and, most importantly, The National Museum in Cracow.

In order to demonstrate the temporal evolution of the taste for Japanese art in Poland as manifested in the pictorial arts of the period under consideration (1885-1940), I arranged the already analysed material in a chronological order. At this stage, I had arrived at a large body of visual data, a form of pictorial narrative, which became one of the main tools of my research. This resource of imagery of Polish Japonisme has been included in this dissertation in full and presented as 'Illustrations' in volumes 3 and 4. It has been grouped to function on two levels. Firstly, its chronological sequence is meant to illustrate the evolution of the phenomenon, and secondly, its thematic subgrouping was chosen with a view to highlighting particular types of inspirations. The chronological narrative methodology has not been applied in the scholarship of Polish Japonisme before. Similarly, the extensive body of visual data, a sort of a catalogue, is also without precedent within the area of Polish Japonisme scholarship, whereas it can be compared to the collection of illustrations in Wichmann's book (1980).

Another important part of the research process was gathering and analysing existing literature on the following subjects: Orientalism, Japonisme, imperialism, colonialism, and Polish art of the period under examination with a particular attention paid to Polish artists' recourse to Japanese models. The results of this survey are also presented to the reader; however, it is only the historiography of Polish Japonisme that has been included in the thesis proper, whereas the literature review of Japonisme in other European countries is provided in

the appendices. The chapter 'The Historiography of Polish Japonisme' is also presented chronologically in order to indicate the changing academic and popular attitudes towards Japan and its art. Writings on the subject have been treated as manifestations of the taste for Japan per se. The survey of literature on Polish Japonisme as presented in Chapter 1 goes beyond 1939, and therefore beyond the scope of the thesis. What transpired whilst conducting the post-war part of the literature review is that between the late 1940s and the early 1980s, there is comparatively little evidence of Polish interest in Japan. This relative vacuum, most probably politically conditioned, is an area worthy of future debate.

The key theoretical frameworks for this PhD are Orientalism and Japonisme. A detailed study of Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) has been undertaken along with a reading of post-Saidian criticisms in order to situate Polish Japonisme within the structure of postcolonial theory. The methodology of positioning the phenomenon of Polish Japonisme within the framework of Orientalism and postcolonial theory is without precedent in the scholarship of Polish Japonisme. Larry Wolff's *Inventing Eastern Europe. The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (1994) was useful in the task of contextualising Polish Japonisme within a larger theoretical background, as it likened Eastern Europe to the Orient in that both resulted from Western European intellectual artifice and both were rendered inferior to the European West. The complexities of the dual status of both Japan and Poland as the coloniser/colonised, orientalisng/orientalised are scrutinised in a greater detail below in this introduction. The Foucauldian theory of power and knowledge was also relevant. Understanding the Japanese design concept *nôtan* required recourse to the theory of Gestalt psychology.

The historiography of Orientalist studies in Poland has a long tradition, both with reference to literature and the field of art history. The application of postcolonial theory to the study of cultural history of Central and Eastern Europe, including Poland, however, is a relatively new development, which, to a large extent, relies on earlier Western European and American contributions to the field. The first overview of postcolonial theory was introduced to Poland only in 2008 as a translation of Leela Gandhi's American publication.⁴ Although, as yet, there are no book-length comprehensive studies on postcolonial theory by Polish scholars, numerous studies utilising this methodological approach have been published by both Polish and foreign authors (Thompson 2000, Cavanagh 2004, Skórczewski 2007, Korek 2007, Janion 2006, Buchowski 2006, Bakula 2006, Ritz 2008). The western Orientalist perspective on Poland was the subject of Larry Wolff's book *Inventing Eastern Europe*. The

⁴ Teoria postkolonialna. Wprowadzenie krytyczne (2008) is Jacek Serwański's translation of Leela Gandhi's *Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction* (1998).

Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment (1994), but it has also been addressed by Izabela Surynt (2006) and Leonard Neuger (2007). As for the larger context of Central and Eastern Europe, including Poland, postcolonial methodology has been applied by, among others, József Böröcz (2001), Bolesław Domański (2004), Merje Kuus (2004, 2007), and Attila Melegh (2006). During the last decade, Saidian and postcolonial criticism has become the dominant methodological tool for the study of literature (Najder 2005, Szkudlarek 1998, Cavanagh 2003, 2004, Kowalczyk-Twarowski 2004, Lindelöf 2001, Skórczewski 2006, 2007, Uffelmann 2007, Fiut 2003, 2005, Cichoń 2004, Ferens 2004, Gosk 2008, Grudzińska-Gross 2008, Kołodziejczyk 2008, Wojda 2007).

Whereas the application of postcolonial theory to the study of Polish politics, social sciences and literature has been successfully initiated, there still is a conspicuous absence of Polish art historical research employing postcolonial methodology. The 2008 exhibition *Orientalizm w malarstwie, rysunku i grafice w Polsce w XIX i I. Połowie XX wieku* (Orientalism in Polish Painting, Drawing and Graphic Art in the 19th and the First Half of the 20th Century) mounted at The National Museum in Warsaw was an ambitious large-scale enterprise which consistently overlooked postcolonial theory as a research tool. Throughout the sumptuous, nearly half-a-thousand-page catalogue accompanying the exhibition, there are no references to any strand of postcolonial theory. This methodological vacuum has also been recently highlighted when a painting by Anna Bilińska-Bohdanowicz *Black Girl* (1884), stolen during World War II, was returned to The National Museum in Warsaw. Press articles commenting on this re-acquisition indicated indirectly the need for postcolonial readings to be applied to the study of Polish art history (Jarecka 2012). This need was also expressed during the conference *Mniejszości narodowe i etniczne w sztuce polskiej po 1945 roku. 'Dla ciebie chcę być biała'* (National and ethnic minorities in Polish art after 1945. 'I want to be white for you') held at the Institute of Art History, The University of Wrocław (22-23 October, 2010). A notable harbinger of an approaching breakthrough in Polish art historical methodology was the artist Jan Simon's exhibition *Morze* (the Sea) at the Raster Gallery in Warsaw (8 May-2 June 2010). Echoing the Polish interwar colonial aspirations and ideology contained in the 1930s' magazine of the same name, Simon commented on the absurdity of the colonial project and the imperialistic appetite promoted by The Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs between 1936 and 1939. While the present thesis is not meant to be a theoretical treatise on postcolonialism in the context of Polish Japonisme, it inaugurates a heretofore non-existent link between the two.

The thesis is divided into three parts. The historiography of Polish Japonisme constitutes the first part and coincides with Chapter 1. The second part provides a chronological examination of Polish Japonisme (1885-1939) and is divided into three

Chapters (2, 3, and 4). The first of the three, 'Foreign Models: Fin-de-Siècle Japonisme in Poland 1885-1900' provides first a discussion of the Polish encounter with Japanese art prior to the late 19th-century craze for Japan; then it concentrates on the last fifteen years of the 19th century, when Polish Japonisme depended almost exclusively on Western European precedents.

Chapter 3 'Home-grown Polish Japonisme 1901-1918' examines the 'golden age' of Japonisme in Poland, the first phase in its history that evolved from local infrastructure. Its first subchapter introduces Feliks Manggha Jasiński and his far-ranging campaign for Japonisme in Poland. The second subchapter charts the various cultural and artistic institutions that acted in support of the Japanese taste. The third subchapter looks at how the Russo-Japanese war provided an important stimulus for another wave of Japonisme. The last subchapter is a thematically grouped analysis of the types of Japanese inspirations in this period.

Chapter 4 deals with the Japonisme of the interwar period (1919-1939), starting with the issues of the nationalisation of Japanese collections in Cracow and Warsaw, and the inauguration of official cultural exchange between Japan and Poland. Then it moves on to the topic of Polish artists in Japan, providing a case study of the Japonisme of Karol Frycz. The next section initially goes back about a decade to explore the Japonisme of the Polish representatives of École de Paris before the First World War. It is followed by a discussion of Polish Japonisme within École de Paris during the interwar years, when the main inspiration was the work of Foujita Tsuguharu. Thereafter, the reader is presented with an examination of local Polish Japonisme, first in painting, where the nature of the phenomenon remained essentially unchanged in comparison with the preceding period; and then in the graphic arts, where one observes a virtual explosion of the taste for Japanese aesthetics and technology. This chapter contains a case study of the interwar Japonisme of Leon Wyczółkowski, proposing new interpretations of his works. The closing subchapter considers Japanese, and other Asian stimuli for the creation of Polish national style in design and architecture, though it comprises the interwar period as well as the preceding two decades.

Japonisme versus Orientalism

The theoretical background for this thesis is provided by Edward Said's postcolonial theory contained in his *Orientalism* (1978). Reliant on Foucauldian notions of discourse, power and knowledge, as well as on Gramsci's distinction between civil and political societies, Said argued that Orientalism was tantamount to western cultural hegemony over the Orient, a problematic concept constructed ontologically and epistemologically. His central claim asserted that all western interest in the Orient, even the purely academic and seemingly innocuous endeavour of the individual, exemplifies hegemonic intellectualism, and is therefore an instrument of imperialism and colonialism. This broad generalisation has been subjected to strident criticism by, among others, Robert Irwin (2006). Others have attacked Said's views for their bias towards the Orient, and for ignoring such areas as non-Arab Asian cultures, non-western imperialism, occidentalist ideology, and gender issues. Although Said excluded from his research scope East and Southeast Asia, his accusatory findings were projected onto the Orient in its entirety. Saidian oriental homogeneity did not do justice to the significance of his theories in, among others, the Japanese context. Is Saidian theoretical structure relevant when applied to Japan, and if so to what extent?

It is not an exaggeration to say that of all the countries which found themselves beyond the geographical scope of Orientalism Japan presents the most abstruse case when examined by means of Saidian theories. The reason for its unusual position lies above all else in Japan's binary character as both an oriental and occidental entity. Paradoxically, on the one hand, geographically and culturally Japan belongs to the Orient, but on the other, in the face of the need for modernisation during the Meiji era, it wholeheartedly embraced western models. In this context, unlike the Islamic world, Japan poses a vexed question for Said. Furthermore, the situation becomes even more complicated when Japan's historical role as an imperialistic power and a coloniser is taken into consideration. To the subjugated nations of Taiwan, Korea, Micronesia, Manchuria, China and Southeast Asia, Japan rendered itself as the subject and not the object of colonial aggression. As such, Japan may be considered on a par with Britain, France and the USA, the principal Saidian 'villains'. Daisuke Nishihara notes that 'most Japanese intellectuals, whether Marxist or conservative, are sympathetic towards Said's unsparing criticism toward the West.' (2005, 242) According to him, this relatively positive reception of Saidism in Japan was caused by 'the feelings of guilt associated with the fact that Japan itself, just like western nations, had been a coloniser' (243). In fact, Orientalism endorsed what the Japanese had instinctively felt from the time of their first encounter with the West (Nishihara 2005, 242). In *The Awakening of Japan* (1905) Okakura Tenshin wrote about the West's need to unlearn a great deal about the East, implying

the multitude of western misconceptions about the Orient (1905, 4-5). Okakura's stance in this respect is consistent with Said's accusations against western misrepresentations of the Orient.

Not only was the Japanese intellectual milieu aware of western orientalist misrepresentation of Japan, but it absorbed and appropriated this very strategy to develop a counter orientalist theory. Figures such as Okakura Tenshin⁵, Itô Chûta⁶, and Yanagi Sôetsu⁷ adopted tactics observed in western Orientalism to create an exterior cultural entity. This 'Other' coincided with the Japanese empire. By identifying and emphasising cultural differences between itself and the cultures of the occupied territories Japan fabricated its cultural identity as the nucleus of oriental or East Asian culture. This ideology elevated Japanese culture to a superior position in relation to the related but distinctly different peripheral cultures. The creation of the Mingei theory by Yanagi Sôetsu exemplifies well this process of Japanese cultural politicisation of East Asian Orient, a phenomenon Yuko Kikuchi has termed 'Oriental Orientalism' (2004, 123).

Said's Orientalism was premised on exteriority, of which the main product was representation. Western orientalist discourse on Japan has produced a myriad of textual depictions that typically disregard the 'correctness' of Japanese reality. In this context, Daisuke Nishihara highlights the following imagery constructed upon western prejudice, and characterised by dictatorship, fanaticism and cruelty: hara-kiri, kamikaze, samurai (2005, 241-253). As for the Saidian tenet of imposed sensuality connected with the gratification of sexual pleasures, the geisha has become perhaps the most recognisable cliché of orientalist discourse on Japan.

Apart from the question of changeability between subject and object, and aside from the fact that the categories self-other and coloniser-colonised are not necessarily fixed, Japan presents further divergence from Said's structure of Orientalism. Inaga Shigemi's juxtaposition of peintures orientalistes (orientalist depictions of the Middle Eastern and North African Orient) and Japonisme (Japanese inspirations in western painting and graphic arts) brings into focus another idiosyncrasy of Orientalism in the Japanese context (Inaga 1999, 3-4). With regards to aesthetics, pictorial conventions and devices, western representations of

⁵ Okakura Tenshin (1862 – 1913), also known as Okakura Kakuzô, was a Japanese scholar who wrote extensively on Japanese arts and culture, and who emphasised the importance of Asian culture in the modern world.

⁶ Itô Chûta (1867 – 1954) – was a Japanese architect, critic and architectural historian, recognised as the leading architectural theorist of early 20th-century Imperial Japan.

⁷ Yanagi Sôetsu (1889 – 1961) – Japanese philosopher and founder of the Mingei (folk craft) movement in Japan in the 1920s and 1930s.

the Islamic Orient conformed exclusively to the western tradition of Academic art. The western romanticised projection onto the Islamic Orient was reflected in paintings created according to the mimetic approach guided by vanishing point perspective, chiaroscuro modelling, tonality, sfumato, and other artistic schemata aiming at maximal verisimilitude of reality. Their exotic themes, settings and localities, however, were directly appropriated from the Orient. Iconoclastically constricted Islamic artistic tradition had little to offer to the western artist with regards to formal considerations. Consequently, for decades, peintures orientalistes had been accorded little artistic or monetary value, only recently having aroused more interest within the Saudi Arabian connoisseurship (Benjamin 1997).

Western favourable attitudes to Japanese inspirations in western pictorial art contrast starkly with the pejorative connotations of peintures orientalistes. The former appropriations can be broadly divided into two categories. The first – comparable with peintures orientalistes – includes Japanese genre scenes, western genre scenes containing Japanese artefacts, still lifes composed of Japanese objects, and other direct ‘quotations’ of Japanese culture. Like their Islamic equivalent, these depictions often, although by no means always, follow the conventions of western mimetic art. Accordingly, western art history has tended to rate them as artistically inferior in comparison with the other category – the appropriation of formal artistic solutions. The latter type of borrowing has been acknowledged as an important catalyst in the development of western art, and a significant factor for the emergence of western modern art. Japan provided the western artist with new exciting ways of constructing the pictorial space, such as aerial perspective, horizontal, vertical and diagonal dimensionality, close-ups, the pars pro toto principle, fortuitous framing, composite formats, crating devices, truncation of objects, spatial divisions, and unorthodox formats. It also ushered new approaches to representing the human figure, often caught in frozen movement, depicted in the silhouette or with its back to the beholder. Other Japanese lessons included planar quality of the pictorial surface, ornamental patterns and flat arabesques, repetition of motifs and rhythmicallity of composition, the use of bold outlines, tendency towards stylisation and schematisation, absence of shadows, rejection of illusionism, shorthand of drawing, asymmerticality, the use of meaningful void, calligraphic imagery, gestural methods, spontaneous approach to art making, free linearism, both colour restriction to black and white and unprecedented juxtaposition of vibrant bright colours, acceptance of accidental effects, energetic brushstrokes, the notion of art making as a self-revelatory process, and the emancipation of decorative art from an inferior status. In addition to all the above, the example of Japanese art enriched the iconographic vocabulary of western art by lending a remarkable range of motifs, as for example the ubiquitous wave. Finally, western art benefited from acquainting itself with the achievements of Japanese craftsmanship and artistic

techniques in most branches of artistic creativity, but especially in painting, print-making, pottery, metalwork, garden design, and architecture.

The grammar of Japanese art opened up new avenues of development for western art, enriching it and arguably helping it overcome its fin-de-siècle impasse. Japanese art was not perceived as inferior to its western counterpart. Although the very first encounters with, for example, ukiyo-e, both in Western Europe and in Poland, occasionally elicited derogatory statements on Japan, its people and art, they stemmed from western ignorance and prejudice towards 'the Other'. However, once artists had the opportunity to familiarise itself better with the diversity and ingenuousness of Japanese visual culture, they soon realised that the Japanese novelties on offer had an unprecedented value for the western artist. Consequently, Japan inevitably became functioning as a sort of cultural reservoir for western artists, one that was invariably accessible via the Japanese object and image available in the West, but considerably less frequently through the medium of Japanese narrative or written word. Regardless of linguistic limitations, which if eliminated would have allowed deeper understanding of the realities of Japanese life and culture, western artists tapped into the 'Japanese reservoir' for a range of diverse reasons. With the improvement of the knowledge of Japanese art in the West, this reservoir rendered itself as an almost inexhaustible source of inspiration.

Poland, Orientalism and Japonisme

The very same mechanism of imaginary geography that gave shape to the Orient as a coherent entity had its hand in inventing another such concept that could not be construed as a geopolitical fact, it was the idea of Eastern Europe. Larry Wolff has aptly shown that Eastern Europe was 'invented' by Western Europe in the 18th century as its complementary other half (1994). This ideological bisection of Europe, not unlike the polarisation between Europe and the Orient, was a cultural creation dictated by intellectual artifice. While 'philosophic geography' excluded Eastern Europe from Europe, implicitly locating it in Asia, scientific cartography contradictorily included it within the boundaries of the European continent. This ambiguity concerning Eastern Europe's continental alignment was conveyed in writings by 18th-century travellers to Poland and Russia such as the American John Ledyard and the Frenchman Count Louis-Philippe de Ségur. This is how the latter described his experience of this ambivalence:

In traversing the eastern part of the estates of the King of Prussia, it seems that one leaves the theatre where there reigns a nature embellished by the efforts of art and a perfected civilization. The eye is already saddened by arid sands, by vast forests. But when one enters Poland, one believes one has left Europe entirely, and the gaze is struck by a new spectacle: an immense country almost totally covered with fir trees always green, but always sad, interrupted at long intervals by some cultivated plains, like islands scattered on the ocean; a poor population, enslaved; dirty villages, cottages little different from savage huts; everything makes one think one has been moved back ten centuries, and that one finds oneself amid hordes of Huns, Scythians, Veneti, Slavs, and Sarmatians. (Louis-Philippe 1859, 300)

Ségur was well aware that Poland belonged to Europe, but he also found it difficult to accept it as a European realm for a number of reasons. Judging by the contemporary standards of Western Europe, he found it incomprehensible that Poland was a free land with an enslaved nation; that it was a republic with a king; that vast as it was, the land was hardly populated; that the Poles were ardent warriors but their armies lacked discipline; that Polish men were brave but the women surpassed them with regards to firmness of character and heroism; that in Poland magnificent mansions and palaces neighboured side by side with mean houses and hovels; that oriental luxury contradicted the lack of commodities of life and abject poverty. Ségur went on to observe that ‘Art, spirit, grace, literature, all the charm of social life, rivalling in Warsaw the sociability of Vienna, London, and Paris; but in the provinces, manners still Sarmatian’ (Louis-Philippe 1859, 301). Perceived from the perspective of Western Europe, Poland was a case of contradiction, paradox and an inversion of 18th-century concepts of society, culture, politics and gender, in brief it was seen as a mélange of civilization and barbarism. Poor knowledge of the realities of Polish life on the part of Western Europeans encouraged prejudice and facilitated the creation of an intermediary geographical space, a zone that was not entirely European, but could not be classified as Asia either. In fact, the terms applied by French scholarship to Eastern Europe until as late as 1918 connote the West’s supercilious orientalist attitude: *l’orient de l’Europe* (The Orient of Europe), *l’Europe orientale* (Eastern Europe), *l’Orient européen* (The European Orient) (Wolff 1994, 6). As Wolff argues, ‘the idea of Eastern Europe was entangled with evolving Orientalism’ (1994, 7). His coinage of ‘demi-Orientalisation’ of Eastern Europe and of Poland as its part accurately identifies the process:

Whether fanciful or philosophical, in a spirit of imaginative extravagance or of earnest erudition, the study of Eastern Europe, like Orientalism, was a style of intellectual mastery, integrating knowledge and power, perpetuating domination and subordination. As in the case of the Orient, so also with Eastern Europe, intellectual discovery and mastery could not be entirely separated from the possibility of real conquest. France’s eighteenth-century experts on Eastern Europe ended up in Napoleon’s regime and academy, and the Enlightenment’s discovery of Eastern

Europe soon pointed the way to conquest and domination. Napoleon's creation of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw in 1807, his annexation of the Adriatic provinces of Illyria in 1809, and finally his invasion of Russia in 1812 put Philosophic Geography at the service of military mapping. It was not to be the last time that the armies of Western Europe sought to establish an empire in Eastern Europe. (1994, 8)

Not only was Poland an object of Orientalisation or demi-Orientalisation imposed by Western European powers, but it also out of its own accord adopted cultural practices that collectively can be gathered under the rubric of self-Orientalisation. Like the majority of cultural and artistic movements and trends, the Enlightenment fashion for the Orient reached Poland from Western Europe, but this strand of the fashion for the Orient proved a rather superficial addition to a much more profound oriental presence deeply rooted in Polish cultural consciousness since the late Middle Ages. Conditioned by Poland's geographical location in the east of Europe, it comes as no surprise that Poles had been in a more direct contact with the peoples of Asia. Starting with the Mongol expeditions of the 13th century, Poland experienced numerous and diverse injections of oriental presence. This cultural influx was anything but ephemeral. Consecutive arrivals found favourable conditions to coexist alongside the Poles and were often integrated into the Polish society, enabling for aspects of their culture and art to permeate into Polish culture. The Armenians were particularly formidable in transplanting their oriental taste onto the Polish soil (Biedrońska-Słota 1992, 9). Long-term neighbourhood with the Crimean Tartars was also significant in this respect. Another important factor in favour of the spread of oriental culture in Poland was the geographical approximation of the Polish state to the Ottoman Empire. In 1385 the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania entered a partial union which in 1569 was turned into the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth – a two-fold statehood with a common parliament and one monarch. This Commonwealth, which continued to exist until 1795, was the largest country in Europe which coincided with present day Poland, Lithuania, Ukraine, Belarus, Latvia, southern Estonia, as well as parts of Russia, Moldova, Romania and Slovakia.

By all means the feature most conducive to the earnest adoption of the oriental taste in Poland was the Polish gentry's belief in their Sarmatian origin. In spite of it being a mere myth, the conviction that the Poles descended from this ancient Iranian people became one of the major forces in the formation of Polish culture. Sarmatism proved a lasting cultural formation between the late 16th and late 18th centuries, and provided a conduit for channelling aspects of Persian and Turkish art into Poland. In itself Sarmatism was a merger between the East and the West. Its manifestations were evident in Polish literature, political thought, customs, architecture, painting, and the ideology of Polish nobility. It is interesting that the Poles in their search for legitimate ancestry chose to look East to Persia, rather than, as for

example the Germans did, to ancient Greece and Rome. Poland's identification with the ancient Persian East did not however preclude Poland's simultaneous aspiration to belong to the cultural orbit of Western Europe. The Baptism of Poland in 966 inaugurated the country's identification with western Christianity. Thereafter Poland adopted the Latin or Roman script as opposed to the Cyrillic alphabet, which was of paramount importance for subsequent cultural alignment with the West. Centuries later it was perceived as the bulwark of western or Catholic Christianity. Throughout history, Poland's political and cultural affiliations oscillated between the East and the West. In this respect, Poland resembles the binary aspect of Japan as both an oriental and occidental culture. We have seen that Poland was the object of Orientalisation and even self-Orientalisation, but historically it also should be considered as a coloniser and therefore a subject of Orientalism.

Against popular expectations, it would not be entirely true to maintain that Poland has only been a victim of imperialism and never its active perpetrator. Whereas it never had overseas colonies *sensu stricto*, whether in its heyday during the 17th century or in the interwar period when concrete steps towards acquiring overseas possessions were actually taken, Polish 'colonies' lay in territories directly adjacent to Poland from the east: Lithuania, Belarus and the Ukraine. These lands collectively constituted the so-called Kresy (Borderlands), a multi-ethnic area that had been Polonised⁸ since the time of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Kresy ceased being part of Poland after the Second World War, when they were annexed by the Soviet regime. Today they do not constitute a single geopolitical entity any longer, but instead, motivated by modern nationalist ideologies, they have emerged as three independent states (Snyder, 2003). To a proportion of the Polish population, however, Lithuania, Belarus and the Ukraine remain the object of nationalistic sentiment. In particular those who were born in these areas before the war tend to maintain an ideology of Kresy's Polishness. This discourse, still an important factor in Polish political life, has roots in Polish military and cultural domination of Kresy, and as such should be regarded in Saidian terms of imperialistic subjugation. Considering the myth of the 'martyrdom' of the Polish nation crucified by Prussia, Russia and Austria for over a century; and in the light of subsequent Nazi and Soviet occupation followed by decades of imposed communist rule, to the majority of Poles it might appear sacrilegious to even conceive of Poland as an orientalist aggressor. Nonetheless, in the climate of recently restored freedom, attempts to voice objective judgements devoid of biased nationalistic emotions are being made. One such foray states:

⁸ 'to Polonise' – to make Polish; cause or force to take on ways, customs, viewpoints, etc., that are characteristically Polish. (Dictionary.com).

‘Polish orientalism’ is inseparable from the sense of cultural superiority of the Poles, but also from the morally substantiated claims to Kresy. Furthermore, this discourse is decisive for the formation of the Other or perhaps three Others though mutually related. In this context, the Kresy discourse becomes a definitive feature of Polish identity. (Szulecki, 2010)

It should be also stressed that despite the fact that the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth did not entertain imperialistic aspirations per se to the extent that its contemporary European powers did, one has to take into account that the first significant wave of modern colonialism coincided with a marked decline in the political and economic strength of the Commonwealth, effectively preventing Poland from acquisition of overseas colonies. Throughout the 19th century, a period of Poland’s political absence on the map of Europe, colonialist ideas were all the more distant from national agenda for obvious reasons. After 1918, when Poland regained its sovereignty, colonial aspirations came to the fore in the form of Liga Morska i Kolonialna (The Maritime and Colonial League), a large organisation, originally public but soon taken over by the government. Besides educating the nation on maritime issues, its main aim was to obtain overseas possessions for Poland. High on the League’s agenda were: the state of Paraná in southern Brazil, Peru, Liberia, Portuguese Mozambique, and French possessions in Africa with Madagascar. In spite of several expeditions to Paraná and Liberia, where Polish settlements were established, founding colonies was never brought to fruition. The incontrovertible fact that the League had a mass following of around one million members in 1939 supports the hypothesis about Polish colonial ambitions during the interbellum.⁹

Does the example of Poland and its Orientalist tradition support Saidian postulation that Orientalism is a tool of imperialism, or does it present a case that challenges his theory? To refute it on the basis of a conspicuous absence of an empire in Polish history would be grossly simplistic, even if one considers the fact that during the 19th century – the age of rampant colonialism – Poland was itself ‘colonised’ and erased from the map of Europe. 19th-century Polish interest in the Orient, abundantly manifested in literature¹⁰ and art, represents two strands when examined from the viewpoint of Saidian accusatory statements against the West. Those narratives and visual representations relating to the ‘internal’ Orient – Kresy and its adjacent regions, as for example the Crimea – bear clear symptoms of imperial agency, and

⁹ According to the statistics provided by Tadeusz Białas in *Liga Morska i Kolonialna* (1983), on 1 June 1939, the organisation had 992 780 members (Białas, p. 41).

¹⁰ Adam Mickiewicz *Sonety Krymskie* (Crimean Sonnets) (1826), Henryk Sienkiewicz *W pustyni i w puszczy* (In Dessert and Wilderness) (1911).

should be interpreted as expressions of latent imperialism. Those, however, that concern the 'external' or distant Orient – the Middle East, North Africa, South, Central and East Asia – are merely an extension of Western European fashions of the day devoid of prospects for an empire.

Not unlike the latter category, Polish Japonisme was the result of fondness of exoticism, of the charm of the unfamiliar. As any Polish imperialistic appetite directed against Japan would have been entirely inconceivable and downright utopian, Polish interest in all things Japanese and the reflection of this taste in Polish art belonged to a romantic realm. Before Feliks Jasieński's pioneering exhibition at the Zachęta Gallery in Warsaw in 1901 Japonisme in Poland depended almost entirely on earlier Western European precedents, whereas the image of Japan was tainted by Orientalist condescension. The downright hostile reception of Jasieński's Varsovian exhibition demonstrates well how Poles' ignorance of a distant and unfamiliar nation and its art was translated into Orientalist rhetoric. Its nadir found expression in such disparaging epithets directed at Japan as: 'a cannibalistic tribe on the brink of extinction'. This is how Japonisme in Poland came into existence at its early stage, but its nature was soon to evolve dramatically almost overnight. Jasieński's enthusiasm for Japan encountered a diametrically different – distinctly positive – reception in Cracow. Three years later, in 1904, Japan became the object of adulation not only in Cracow but throughout Poland. The turnabout in attitudes was triggered by the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war, which incited amongst the Poles a surge of hope for independence from Russian oppression, and positioned Poland alongside Japan as allies in the struggle against a common enemy – Russia. Now Japan was idolised and became a source of actual and fictitious values that offered an alternative to unacceptable aspects of Polish reality, not only in the field of art but also ethics, morality and various facets of social life. Its image was transfigured into a paragon of virtue and a model worthy of emulation, a screen onto which Polish predicaments were projected in the hope for identifying antidotes for them.

This politically stimulated strand of Japonisme in Poland rendered Japan and its nation in a positive light. Rather than being built solely on the Orientalist premise that Japan, as part of the Orient, was culturally inferior, the case of Polish Japonisme constitutes a challenge to Said's Orientalist construct. It was wholly beneficial to Polish art in a number of significant ways. For Feliks Jasieński – the 'godfather' of Polish Japonisme – Japan served as the ultimate blueprint for Polish art and society. His intention was to construct Polish national identity and Polish national style in art on Japanese cultural and social paradigms. In this context, Japan figures as a superior entity in possession of values desirable by a western culture. This configuration may be read as an inversion of the Saidian framework of the inferior Orient subjugated by the superior Occident. The Polish taste for Japan, however, was

not entirely free from negative Orientalist stereotypes, devoid of colonialist ideology and imperialist agenda, or one that came about outside of a power-structure. Polish Japonisme, therefore, should be understood as containing both Saidian and anti-Saidian layers.

Self-orientalisation as a Subversive Strategy of Identity Building

From the 16th century onwards, European peoples sought to affirm their national values by tracing their common ancestries to ancient, biblical and even mythological progenitors. These ‘barbarians’, as they had been regarded by the ancient Greeks and Romans, invariably attempted to legitimise themselves by creating ethnogeneses originating predominantly in Europe. Thus the founding myth of the French linked them with the Franks, the Gauls and the heroes of the Trojan War; the Germans claimed their descent from the pre-Christian Teutons; while the Scandinavian peoples derived their pedigrees from a common Nordic mythology (Parker, Mills & Stanton 2003).

The Poles were no exception in this respect; however, despite their long-standing aspirations to gravitate towards the Western European cultural orbit, evident since Poland’s adoption of Latin, as opposed to Orthodox, Christianity in 966, they chose to forge their collective lineage from an eastern source: the Iranic Sarmatians. It is significant that, perhaps with the exception of Hungary, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth provides the only example of a Latin Christian state to have turned to the East for cultural legitimisation. The appropriation of this eastern legacy was not confined to a superficial cultural alignment with an oriental past; rather it had far-reaching and long-term consequences for the ideological, institutional, mythical and practical dimensions of the nation and statehood. This early ideological orientation of Poland can be interpreted as a variety of self-imposed orientalisation or self-orientalisation. According to certain scholars, Poland’s claim to the Sarmatian link may have not been entirely invented, and could be explained by the legacy of the Sarmatian Alans, who had been present in Eastern Europe up to the 4th century AD (Sulimirski 1970, Ascherson 2007, 230-43).

By the end of the 16th century, the historiography and theory of Poland’s Sarmatian origins (Sarmatism) had been well developed. The main contributors to the literary foundations of this ideology were, among others, Jan Długosz, Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski and Jan Kochanowski, but in terms of its dissemination in Western Europe, the treatise by Maciej Miechowita (1457-1523) *Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis Asiana et Europiana et de contentis in eis* (Treatise on the two Sarmatias, Asian and European, and on what they contain) (1517) was the most influential as it was translated into German (1518) and Italian.

The Sarmatian self-orientalisation manifested itself most visibly in the realm of politics, where the ideals of ‘golden freedom’, derived from ancient Sarmatian lore, legitimised the nobility’s desire to expand their privileges, and subsequently in the second half of the 16th century gave rise to elective monarchy. Another political function of Sarmatism was the motivation and the justification for Poland’s imperialist expansion towards the East, as well as the validation for the political union between the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (1569).

The influence of Sarmatism on the social sphere was equally pervasive, providing a model for knightly bravery and vigour, which was reflected in a remarkable cavalry tradition reminiscent of the oriental horsemen of the steppes. The tamgas or ‘pictorial charges’ of the ancient Sarmatians, which bore strong resemblance to certain Chinese ideographs, were also appropriated by Polish nobility via the Turkish tribes and incorporated into the heraldic system of Poland (Leaf & Purcell 1986, 76-82). The oriental origin of Polish national attire¹¹, however, constitutes an even more pervasive, enduring and meaningful instance of self-orientalisation.¹² Not unlike the orientalised heraldic emblems of Polish nobility, the oriental character of its national dress may be read as identification par excellence with the oriental Other. Building oriental-inspired architecture surrounded by Chinese, Japanese or Islamic gardens, furnishing and adorning interiors with oriental and oriental-inspired objects to express admiration for the art of the Other or to display familiarity with the fashions of the day may be regarded as a form of self-orientalisation, but one that has often been ephemeral and, more importantly for the present context, one wherein the Orient is not as integrated with the Self as in the case of orientalising the very appearance of the Self rather than merely its surroundings. In the case of orientalised attire, especially national one, one is confronted with

¹¹ The oriental inspired Polish national attire was made up of *kolpak* (cylindrical fur hat sometimes adorned with eagle, falcon or heron feathers, a type also characteristic of the Tartars), *żupan* (long lined garment of Central Asian nomadic, Iranian and Turkish origin), *kontusz* (long robe, usually reaching to below the knees with a set of decorative buttons down the front with long loose sleeves, derived from the Turkish *köntösis*), *delia* (Turkish-inspired item of male apparel worn over the *żupan*, made of wool, velvet or cotton), *pas kontuszowy* (cloth sash modelled on Persian precedents used for compassing the *kontusz*, the most distinctive item worn by Polish and Lithuanian nobility), and *szabla* (one-eyed sabre, originally used by the Turkic and Arabic peoples). The oriental appearance was not confined to the attire itself, but was also apparent in the hairstyle (the sides and the back of the head shaved) and facial hair (walrus-like moustache borrowed from the Ottomans via Hungary). (Turnau 1991 & 1994)

¹² The process of orientalisation of Polish national attire started in the 16th century, but until its third quarter Polish gentry still oscillated between two fashions: the oriental/Hungarian trend and the uniform standardised Spanish courtly model favoured across Western Europe (Mrozowski 1986, 253). By the 1580s, the oriental fashion ceased to function as a mere alternative to a range of trends from Western Europe, rather it had become to be associated with the image of an ideal Pole. Paradoxically, wearing the orientalised garb, from the 17th century onwards, connoted patriotism and attachment to local traditions and Polish customs (Mrozowski 1986, 258-259).

a form of powerful statement of not mere cultural affinity with the Other, or a show of orientalist fascination with exotic Otherness, but rather with its direct appropriation and adaptation in service of asserting a self-orientalised national identity.

To elucidate the *raison d'être* for Poland's early practice of self-orientalising, it is necessary to consider its contemporary relation with Western Europe. The exposure to 17th century absolutist monarchical forms of government adopted in France, England, Sweden, Norway-Denmark, Prussia and other Western European states posed a threat to the evolution of elective democracy in Poland. By the mid-17th century, Polish kings were kings in name only and their status could be best described as presidents of the Senate elected for life. Eligibility for the office was not limited to the members of the ruling dynasty, allowing also candidates from outside of the country and even commoners, some of whom managed to achieve the position. The 'pacta conventa', a covenant between the king and the ruled, constituted a form of 'Bill of Rights', which invested the citizens with the right to civil disobedience in the event of the ruler acting contrary to the Cardinal Laws of the country. Poland was also in stark contrast to Western European countries with respect to religious tolerance. Whereas the West was torn apart by religious wars, in Poland the principle of religious tolerance became the law. Western European influence was therefore regarded as a threat to the Sarmatian ideals of 'Golden Freedom' as well as a danger to religious tolerance. With increased xenophobia and even occasional hostility towards the Germans, French, Italians, English and the Dutch, transplanting Western European models to Poland at that time became a controversial issue which invariably divided the country.

In this climate affected by mounting national paranoia of the threat posed by undesired political and cultural models from the West, the Poles turned for ideological inspiration to the East. Sarmatism became to be regarded as a safeguard against the 'vice' of the West. Conscious self-orientalisation prompted adherence to the oriental-inspired national attire and the wholesale adoption of other eastern ideas. While inspiration from the East enjoyed its momentum, Western European influence also continued to take hold, albeit, from now on, in a compromised ratio at the cost of the oriental contribution. As a result, the newly-formed national identity comprised both western and eastern elements at an equilibrium that was capable of preempting Poland's unequivocal association with the West. Whereas the influence from the East was apparent in the realms of fashion, fabrics, jewelry, furs, arms and decorative arts; western models tended to shape Polish literature, architecture and science. This syncretic ideological formation may be regarded as a form of art of existence between the East and the West, a self-orientalising construct which facilitated circumventing Poland's standing as the West's subaltern.

The Orient has been stereotypically and irrationally described as a peripheral zone tainted by chaos, backwardness, barbarity, and other pejorative attributes. If being regarded as part of it implies deprecatory connotations, then deliberate and autonomous production of self-orientalising discourses would appear adversary to the interests of the 'orientalised'. However, the mechanisms that produce this kind of discourse, paradoxically, are capable of providing the 'self-orientalised' with potentially empowering values. Self-orientalisation, to the contrary, has been invariably an invaluable tool for challenging and manipulating hegemonic discourses and as a result provides cultures with social myths as well as aids the construction of new national identities.

One of the main assumptions made by Said in *Orientalism* (1978) is that the 'colonised' are deprived of their own voice to counteract the hegemonic orientalist discourse of the West. This aspect of Saidian theory was subsequently expanded upon by Gayatri Spivak in her influential article 'Can the subaltern speak?' (1988, 271-313), where she rebuffs Gilles Deleuze and Michel Foucault for making discursive practice with the subaltern unattainable by limiting the subject to the subject of the West. The subversive tactic of self-orientalism, however, consists in reversing the positions, whereby the subaltern take up active roles in representing themselves in reaction to demeaning stereotypes imposed by hegemonic western discourses. This practice has been variously termed by scholarship as 'auto-Orientalism' (Lie 1996, 5), 'auto-exoticism' (Levick 2005), and 'reverse Orientalism' (Sekii 1987). Adeeb Khalid defined self-orientalisation as a strategy that can affect a range of attitudes, from the lachrymose to the heroic (2000, 698-699). The former stance is passive and laments the hopeless situation into which the subaltern has been relegated, while the latter is an expression of the subaltern's pride marked by a defiant conviction of its superiority. By harnessing negative stereotypes projected by the 'coloniser' and inverting them into 'double-edged weapons', the self-orientalising party creates hetero-stereotypes, which in turn aid the process of building new identities. In such cases, it is as if the subaltern culture is determined to 'do it' to itself before others can 'do it' for and to it. By arrogating the right to narrate, the subaltern culture engenders an epistemic interference, and by consequence achieves a degree of hegemony.

Such acts of 'revenge' on the colonizer are often exercised in the realm of language, where the anticolonial defiance manifests itself in appropriating lexical items and inverting their semantic contents in a manner that disposes entirely of their pejorativeness. Employing the concept of 'signifying', a notion related to double-talk or trickery, but on the whole

eluding precise definition¹³, Henry Louis Gates Jr. has shown how the Afro-American literary tradition inverted the semantic contents of such signifiers as 'slave', 'nigger', and 'monkey' to form new concepts (the signified) devoid of negative connotations (1988, 47). Signifying, in these cases, functions as a metaphor for formal revision and intertextuality.

Such an appropriation and axiological inversion of negative hetero-stereotypes may be observed also in contemporary relations between Poland and the West. Dirk Uffelmann investigated self-orientalising literary devices in recent (from 1990 to the present) literature by Polish migrants to Germany (2010).¹⁴ He advanced the thesis that an analogical phenomenon to the one identified by Henry Louis Gates in Afro-American literature takes place in Western Europe: a tendency for Eastern Europeans and Central-Eastern Europeans to be characterized by Western European orientalist discourses by means of Asian ethnic metaphors, such as 'Tartars' and 'Mongols' (2010, 257). Uffelmann demonstrates well how such orientalist use of these metaphors triggers the process of self-orientalisation. Eastern European authors resident in Germany reuse disparaging characterizations and motifs previously used by Western orientalist discourses, but alter them as to create their own meanings. Although Uffelmann's argument pertains predominantly to the realm of literature, it also highlights selected parallel phenomena in the milieu of social organisations (Klub Polskich Nieudaczników)¹⁵ and visual culture (Der Popolski Show)¹⁶.

A pertinent issue in the context of the present thesis is how self-orientalisation as a concept relates to the study of Polish Japonisme. As has been pointed out earlier, Japonisme is regarded as a form of Orientalism, however, certain manifestations of it tend to defy unequivocal classification as Orientalist practices, and instead, paradoxically, render themselves as instances of self-orientalism. In addition to negative Orientalist attributes, the phenomenon of Japonisme is characterized also by overtly positive idolization of Japan and

¹³ 'Signifying' has been defined by Bernard W. Bell as 'elaborate, indirect form of goading or insult generally making use of profanity' (1987, 22). Roger D. Abrahams circumscribes it as 'implying, goading, begging, boasting by indirect verbal or gestural means' (1999, 260).

¹⁴ Uffelmann focuses on the self-orientalising aspects in the literary oeuvres of three immigrant Polish writers resident in Germany: Dariusz Muszer, Janusz Rudnicki and Leszek Herman Oświęcimski.

¹⁵ Klub Polskich Nieudaczników (in German: Club der polnischen Versager, in English: 'The Club of Polish Failures') is a Polish-German cultural exchange organisation founded in 2001 in Berlin. Its programme, as it is reflected in its name, is conceived in reaction to the culture of 'success', and provocatively promotes failure as life's goal. By maintaining anti-Polish stereotypes, its artistic strategy transcends attainment of immunity from orientalist disdain. Its self-orientalising tactic was adopted as an effective cultural marketing for the venue, which has become, paradoxically, popular and fashionable with German media.

¹⁶ Der Popolski Show is a German television parody cabaret show with musical interludes, featuring a German family of distinctly Polish origin, a pseudo-Polish musician family (the Popolskis).

its culture. With regards to Polish Japonisme, this affirmatory dimension is evident not only in the various ways in which Japanese art and aesthetics contributed to the development of Polish art during the period under consideration, but also in the multifarious pro-Japonisme agency of Feliks Manggha Jasieński. Recognizing positive values in Japanese approaches to art and adapting them to Polish art is in essence tantamount to assimilating Polish art to that of Japan, which in turn may be interpreted as an instance of self-orientalisation. Artists' motivation behind their choices to seek recourse to Japanese art for new artistic devices and motifs may well have been often opportunistic, the result of artistic 'promiscuity', and therefore not necessarily marked by apparent adulation for Japanese art. There were, however, numerous Polish artists, active especially during the Modernist period, who adopted informed and admiring attitude towards Japanese art as a source of commendable artistic values. Such conscious approximation to Japanese prototypes is axiomatic in the oeuvres of such artists as Leon Wyczółkowski, Wojciech Weiss, Stanisław Dębicki, Karol Frycz, Olga Boznańska, and Józef Pankiewicz.

Whereas the degree of self-orientalisation in the artistic practices of the individual artists varied across a wide scale, the activities of the art collector and critic Feliks Manggha Jasieński present a case of programmatic self-orientalisation. It is important to stress first that Jasieński's Japonisme, in its earliest stages, as manifested through his art collecting and his writing, displayed certain typical characteristics of Eurocentric Orientalism. His evaluation of Japanese art according to Eurocentric criteria brought about the identification of Japanese art with colour woodblock print and ascribed key roles in the development of Japanese art to two nineteenth-century artists Katsushika Hokusai and Utagawa Hiroshige. Both of these assumptions were alien to the Japanese and should be regarded as grossly inaccurate Western Orientalist projections onto Japanese art, ones that reached Jasieński via Western Europe and America. Extreme idealization of Japan and its culture and major misconceptions about them, the stuff of Orientalism, are evident and profuse in Jasieński's writing. Although they are distinctly positive and devoid of haughty Orientalist disdain, they nonetheless are fallacious constructs that bear no relation to the Japanese reality:

The nation is enchanted and insatiable [for art] (...) Crazy nation, suffering from crazy image-mania. (Miodońska-Brookes; Cieśla-Korytowska 1992, 351)

Wonderful land! Wonderful people! Wonderful art! (Jasieński 1991b, 620)

If you surrender yourself to the charm of its [Japanese] art, you start to abominate Western art. (Jasieński 1991b, 209)

Jasieński consistently eulogizes Japanese art and culture. Not only does he extoll its value, but positions it as superior to Western art. His much quoted maxim ‘Let us learn from the Japanese how to be Polish’ (Jasieński 1901e) epitomizes well Jasieński’s campaign for the ‘Japanisation’ of Poland, but it also implies the proposed trajectory of borrowing from Japan, whereby, according to Jasieński, the Poles should not copy the Japanese indiscriminately and in a wholesale fashion, but instead they should endeavour to create a recognizably Polish art capitalizing on Japanese achievements. His daring and superficially antithetical mission to launch Polish national art based on the culture of an Other, in this case on the art and culture of Japan, relied on merging the concepts of Orientalism and cultural nationalism:

I have been aiming at a pedagogical act, to suggest to people that if the Japanese could achieve to have a distinct national art, so can we and we have to achieve it as well. Through Japan I wished to get into the treasures of our own yet unexploited folk art; through Japan I am aiming at creation of Polish art in all fifteen sections. I want it so that when we look at Japanese people, who can leave their own remarkable national mark on literally all every day-use objects, we emulate its originality, which means that we achieve with our motives what they achieved with theirs. (Jasieński in Chołoniewski 1901)

Jasieński’s interests and cultural enterprises, including his writing, do not exemplify solely Eurocentric Exoticism with its aesthetic and ontological dimensions. His aesthetic theory and pedagogical vision were constructed upon two seemingly incompatible opposites: Orientalism and nationalism. His carefully self-fabricated image of animator of Polish cultural life also evades straightforward classification as an Orientalist. Among the extant photographs of Jasieński, there is a snapshot of him attired in a combination of disparate items of clothing (fig. 230). Over western style clothes, he wears a female kimono and a samurai’s helmet. If Jasieński aspired to be perceived as an aficionado of all things Japanese, which meant he must have been aware of the incongruity of this clothing ensemble, what prompted him to be photographed in such an absurd costume? It appears that around the start of the twentieth century his Orientalist stance began to display signs of disapproval of the patronizing and essentialist attitudes rife in Orientalist and Japonisme circles. The photograph with Jasieński dressed in a ludicrous combination of items may be interpreted as a mockery of naïve Orientalist practices, and an emblem of his respect for Japanese culture. Similar acts of derision are also present, albeit not common, in the oeuvres of Polish artists of the Modernist period, a good example of which is *Europa jubilans* by Józef Mehoffer (fig. 485).¹⁷ Jasieński’s critique of the vulgarization of Japonisme and of the often arrogant

¹⁷ For the analysis and interpretation of this painting see pages 123-124.

misinterpretation of Japan, and therefore of Orientalism itself, renders his pro-Japonisme activities as 'beneficent Orientalism'.

Orientalism, in Saidian terms, is understood as a pervasive western tradition of prejudiced, distorted and oversimplified interpretations of the East. The Japonisme of the mid and late 19th century, a strand of Orientalism, developed first in France and other Western European countries, such as Britain, Austria and Prussia. Its inception in Poland, as shown in Chapter 2, depended on appropriating certain cultural practices observed in Western Europe. Having accepted that Polish Japonisme, at least in its initial stages, stemmed from Orientalist practices of Western European empires, it is plausible to argue that by copying the activities associated with Orientalism and Japonisme, the Poles adopted the cultural practices of the colonizer. This tactic may be considered in terms of the notion of mimicry formulated by Homi K. Bhabha in *Location of Culture* (1994, 86). Bhabha defines mimicry as an opportunistic pattern of behavior, whereby one appropriates and copies the cultural attitudes and practices of the colonizer. The aim of mimicry, according to Bhabha, is to attain colonial power and authority, to obtain the same cultural dominance the colonizer yields. It is a subversive strategy which leads to paranoia on the part of the dominant culture:

The menace of mimicry is its double vision which in disclosing the ambivalence of colonial discourse also disrupts its authority. (Bhabha 1994, 88)

In the face of the absence of political and cultural autonomy in the Poland of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and especially in the context of its historical experience as a colonizer, adopting Orientalist cultural practices from Western European empires appears to have been a process of identity building, whereby the desire for colonial authority was partially satisfied. As a result, Poland rendered itself more ambivalent on the scale from the colonizer to the colonized. Polish self-orientalism was never a passive strategy of the inferior; rather, it should be regarded as active exploitation of the colonizer, which invariably coincided with the West. It is a phenomenon that counteracts Orientalism, and as such it is problematic to it.

Chapter I: The Historiography of Polish Japonisme

The first text on Japanese art to have come out from under a Polish pen was *L'art japonais* by the Paris-based Polish connoisseur and art critic Teodor Wyżewski (de Wyzewa). It was written in French and published in *Revue des Deux Mondes* in 1890 in the wake of a series of publications on Japanese art by Gonse, Anderson and Brinkmann (de Wyzewa 1890). Wyzewa expresses his regret that the sudden and intense wave of a taste for Japan in the last decades of the 19th century, paradoxically, prevented Japanese art from being studied insightfully in the West. In his opinion, the Japanese art market, due to a lack of knowledge of Japanese art and culture, was governed by accident. Wyzewa strongly criticises the above mentioned authors for insufficient attention in their works to the relationship between Japanese art and the race that created it – the circumstances of their life, culture, nature, and worldview. His frequent sweeping statements, however, are not free from overgeneralisations, major misconceptions and occasional factual error. He ennobles Japanese art and puts it on par with European art. As for the question of the ‘influence’ of Japanese art on that of Europe, Wyzewa sees Japonisme as only a superficial and inessential imitation.

It was not until the beginning of the 20th century that first writing on Japanese art appears in Poland, and it is invariably connected to the agency of Feliks Manggha Jasieński. This ‘enfant terrible’ of Polish Modernism assembled an impressive and diverse collection of Japanese art while he lived in Paris in the 1880s. Upon his return to Poland in 1888, he set out on a mission to popularise Japanese art among the Poles. First he settled in Warsaw, where in 1901 he organised the first Polish exhibition of ukiyo-e prints at the Zachęta National Gallery of Art. Neither the Warsaw public nor the art critics were prepared to approve of this new art, despite Jasieński’s campaign including an enthusiastic article preceding the exhibition *Wystawa drzeworytów japońskich* (Exhibition of Japanese Woodblock Prints) (1901). The collector was mocked and his collection of prints compared to labels on Chinese tea boxes. Indignant at the arrogant remarks, aggressive articles in the press and even hostile anonymous letters, Jasieński reacted with a stinging rebuff in the form of sarcastic signs hung in the exhibition rooms and directed at the ignorant public: ‘Chinese tea and Japanese art are two different things’ and ‘not for swine’, etc. This scandal gave an impetus for a heated polemic on Japanese art in Polish newspapers. The press battle that ensued divided art lovers into two camps: the Japanophiles and the Japanophobes.

Jasieński’s most important textual contribution to Polish Japonisme is his monumental nearly 1000-page piece written in French in the closing years of the 19th century

in Paris and published there and in Warsaw in 1901 under the title *Manggha. Promenades á travers le monde, l'art et les idées*. This manifesto of his author's aesthetic, philosophical and literary worldview is per se a part of the phenomenon of Japonisme. So-called the French *Manggha*, as opposed to its later continuation, the Polish *Manggha*, on which later, is composed of segments written in the conventions of various literary genres. Reminiscent of *Journal des Goncourt* by the Goncourt brothers, Jasiński's *Manggha* offers a versatile picture of contemporary artistic, literary and social milieu. However, as its French subtitle implies, it is also a sort of guide for travellers in the world of art and ideas, thus not unlike Hokusai's *Manga*, a collection of various sketches including landscapes, flora and fauna, everyday life scenes, and even the supernatural; it offers guidance on how to contemplate the beauty of nature. At first glance *Manggha*'s readers may be struck by the limited number of passages dealing directly with Japan. In fact, a thorough reading reveals a Japanese undercurrent of his narration, manifest above all in Jasiński's choice of those artistic phenomena from the European orbit that resonate with the values he observes in Japanese art. Therefore, in this sense, this work is an important commentary on contemporary Japonisme. Jasiński levels fierce criticism at more or less every aspect of European culture, reserving positive superlatives for the art and culture of Japan.

The first Polish-language text on Japanese art came from the competent and erudite critic of literature and art Zenon Przesmycki. *Drzeworyt japoński* (1901) (Japanese Woodblock Print) was first published in the Warsaw periodical *Chimera* edited by Przesmycki himself, and then republished in 1914 in a collection of his works *Pro Arte*. This long essay delivers a concise overview of early decades of Japonisme (up to 1900), as well as a short literature review on the subject. Japanese Wood Engravings by Anderson, *L'art japonais* by Gonse, *Masters of Ukiyo-e* by Fenollosa, and *Geschichte des japanischen Farbenholzschnitts* by Seidlitz are all diligent and erudite works in Przesmycki's view, nonetheless, he criticises them for their frequent overestimation of those Japanese works of art that are rare in the West, and vice versa, for their neglect of artistically valuable pieces simply because they are available in abundance. Przesmycki ascribes such an appraisal to the fact that these authors were first and foremost collectors. In addition, the author dispenses certain contemporary myths and misconceptions about ukiyo-e, namely that it grew out of a reaction against the Kanô or Tosa schools of painting, that it was only folk and popular art, or that woodblocks were mere copies of paintings for the less affluent market. Besides, his work merits praise for an insightful comparison between the European woodblock tradition and ukiyo-e. More importantly, however, it is through this work that the Polish public was initiated into the history of ukiyo-e starting with Iwasa Matabei and ending with the closing years of the phenomenon. Especially illuminating is Przesmycki's interpretation of the

stylistic evolution of ukiyo-e. Although, on the one hand, he acknowledges that Japanese woodblock engendered a great and positive shift in western art, on the other, his closing statement, echoing Wyzewa's views, expresses his dissatisfaction with the development of Japonisme:

Considering European conceit, it is understandable that Japanese art could not exert a full influence so far. Perhaps it will happen in the future in a different, more accommodating spiritual ambiance in Europe. (Przesmycki 1901, vol. 1, no. 3, 531)

Thanks to the enthusiastic writings of Jasiński and Przesmycki, Japanese art gained a larger circle of admirers in Poland. Indeed, it appears that Polish interest in Japan was actually instigated predominantly by the initial exposure to publications on Japanese art. Thereafter, a series of writings on a variety of Japanese subjects appears in Poland: *Historia literatury chińskiej i japońskiej* (A History of Chinese and Japanese Literature) (1901) by Julian Adolf Święcicki, *O teatrze japońskim* (On Japanese Theatre) (1902) by Jan August Kisielewski.

During Polish Modernism one can distinguish two distinctive periods of ardent interest in Japan. The first wave was kindled by the exhibitions and writing campaign of Feliks Manggha Jasiński, and the other which occurred after 1904, was incited by the Russo-Japanese war. Suddenly, Japan appeared as Poland's powerful ally against Tsarist Russia. A period of Polish fascination with Japan ensued fuelled by hopes for the long-awaited political and cultural independence. This attraction gave birth to a politically charged Japonisme. Among the more significant publications on Japan at that time the following deserve a mention: *Japonia i Japończycy* (Japan and the Japanese) (1904) by A. Okszyk, *Japonia Państwo i Prawo* (Japan: the State and Law) (1905) by Stanisław Posner, *Obrazki z Japonii* (Pictures from Japan) (1904) by Juliusz Starkel, *Japonia* (Japan) (1904) by Władysław Studnicki, and Jan August Kisielewski's *O Japończykach w teatrze* (On the Japanese in the Theatre) (1904). A series of translations of Japanese classics also emerge: Kakuzo Okakura's *The Book of Tea* as *Księga herbaty* (1905), the same author's *The Awakening of Japan* translated as *Przebudzenie się Japonii* (1905) as well as Inazo Nitobe's *Bushido* (1904) published under the same title. There were also moralistic works whose purpose was to make the Poles aware of their national vices by juxtaposing them with the Japanese model. These authors hoped to persuade the nation to adopt virtuous Japanese characteristics. For instance, the notable novelist Bolesław Prus wrote a series of articles in *Kurier Codzienny* (Daily Courier) between April and June 1904 entitled *Japonia i Japończycy* (Japan and the Japanese), in which he scrutinises the Japanese traits worthy of emulation.

By 1906 Japan is no longer an unfamiliar subject to the Poles. Not to say that knowledge on Japan in Poland was extensive or entirely correct, but by now the intellectual elites were somewhat acquainted with Japanese art. Jasiński's Cracow flat became a first-hand source of knowledge about Japanese art for this new curious audience. Indeed, the collector turned his personal dwellings into a de facto branch of the National Museum in Cracow (Musée Jasiński/Cracovie). In 1906 he wrote *Przewodnik po dziale japońskim Oddziału Muzeum Narodowego* (Guide to the Japanese Section of the Department of the National Museum in Cracow), which was intended as an informative and didactic source for both Polish artists and Polish society in general.

In 1911 Jasiński published a series of eleven articles in consecutive editions of *Miesięcznik Literacki i Artystyczny* (Literature and Art Monthly) under the collective title *Manggha. Urywek z rękopisu*. (Manggha. A Fragment of the Manuscript). This group of essays is also known as the Polish Manggha. Meant as continuation of the earlier French Manggha, not only was it written in Polish, but its main theme is the culture and civilisation of Poland seen through the prism of Japan. This sequence of articles reads like an apotheosis of Japan and a firm condemnation of the values underlying western civilisation.

After the First World War Japan was among the first countries to acknowledge the newly resurrected Polish state. In 1919 diplomatic relations were established between Japan and Poland. Despite a developing mutual cultural exchange and Japanese inspirations still present in Polish art, no important publications on Japonisme appear in the interwar period. Although there were a number of exhibitions of Japanese woodblock prints from Jasiński's collection organised by the German occupant during the Second World War (one of which was visited by Andrzej Wajda) (Nowak 2005, 9), their catalogues are not extant today. With the exception of several studies on the history of Japanese-Polish cultural interchange, such as Wiesław Kotański's *Stosunki kulturalne między Polską i Japonią* (Cultural Relations Between Poland and Japan) (1961), there was no significant progress in Polish scholarship on Japonisme until the late 1960s. The year 1967 brought a highly useful volume *Polskie życie artystyczne w latach 1890-1914* (Polish Artistic Life 1890-1914), to which J. Wiercińska contributed a short but informative essay on the activities of Feliks Jasiński *Feliks Jasiński (Manggha) jako działacz artystyczny i kolekcjoner*. (F. Jasiński Manggha as an Art Activist and Collector). The 1979 article *Feliks Jasiński w środowisku Warszawy, Lwowa i Krakowa* (*Feliks Jasiński in the Communities of Warsaw, Lviv and Cracow*) published in *Rocznik Humanistyczny* (Humanistic Studies Annually) deals with Japonisme only indirectly.

Until the early 1980s, the scholarly coverage of Polish Japonisme is erratic, sketchy and revolves around the issues of Japan and Japanese art rather than their impact upon the art of Poland. A succession of exhibitions devoted either entirely or partially to Japonisme and

held in France, Germany and the USA in the 1970s emphasised the yawning gap in the scholarship of Polish Japonisme. The process of filling that void was started by Zofia Alberowa (also known as Zofia Alber) and Łukasz Kossowski in 1981. That year the National Museum in Cracow in cooperation with the National Museum in Kielce mounted the first exhibition of Japonisme in Poland. Prior to this pioneering event, the issue of Polish Japonisme was addressed briefly at the 1965 exhibition of Cracow Modernism at the Sopot BWA (Sopot Bureau of Art Exhibitions). *Inspiracje sztuką Japonii w malarstwie i grafice polskich modernistów*. (Japanese Inspirations in the Painting and Graphic Arts of Polish Modernists) (1981) is an important staging post in Polish scholarship of Japonisme. The catalogue accompanying the exhibition is a starting point for any student of the taste for Japan in Poland. As reflected in its title, the authors are not concerned as much with the period of Polish Modernism (1890-1914), as with the oeuvres of Polish Modernists, who were often under the spell of Japanese art after 1914 and well into the interwar period. Kossowski's essay on the Japanese inspirations in the work of Polish Modernists presents in a nutshell his pioneering unpublished MA research from 1978 which lay the groundwork for future study. The volume merits attention for the identification of Japanese inspirations not only in the work of famous and well established artists, but also in the oeuvres of less known ones. Perhaps at the cost of an in-depth analysis of the nature of such inspirations, the authors included over forty artists in the exhibition and the catalogue, thus mapping out the field of Japonisme in Poland. However, Kossowski's approach reveals the influence of the criticised method of the German scholar Siegfried Wichmann, which consists in identifying genetic sequences of motifs, from the Japanese prototype to the western 'descendant'.¹⁸ The overall conception of the catalogue is appropriate to the subject at hand, as it includes an introduction to the art of ukiyo-e, followed by a short overview of Western European and then Polish Japonisme, and finally a useful annotated index of biographies of Japanese and Polish artists. Unfortunately, the illustrations, although numerous, are of poor quality and mostly in black-and-white.

The 1980s bring several original studies to the field. The bulk of these were published in a collection of papers from the 23rd Conference of the Association of Polish Art Historians held in 1986 and devoted to the problem of the Orient and Orientalism in Polish art. *Orient i orientalizm w sztuce* (The Orient and Orientalism in Art) (1986) includes an essay by Teresa

¹⁸ The problem with Wichmann's methodology consists in the fact that he 'concentrates almost exclusively on detailed motif comparisons of a tenuous nature' (Watanabe 1991, 33), without providing documentary evidence of a particular artist's contact with Japanese models. What is also missing in Wichmann's approach is the lack of significant insight into the nature of the Japanese influence on a particular artist (Watanabe 1991, 33).

Grzybowska, originally written in 1983, *Pseudojaponizm modernistów* (The Pseudojapanese in "Young Poland" Art), in which the author denies the existence of profound, artistically valid Japanese inspirations in the art of Polish Modernism. In other words, Grzybowska relegates the phenomenon of Polish Japonisme to a minor, inconsequential and superficial infatuation with Japan. In her opinion, the grounds for such a conclusion are: 'the arbitrary manipulation of Japanese props in essentially academic compositions', 'the absence of Japanese contemplation of an individual object or fragment of it', and its 'shallowness in taking over from Japanese art only its outer form without feeling its inner meaning'. What is rather surprising is that this very paper is directly followed in the volume by Łukasz Kossowski's essay on the Japonism of Wojciech Weiss *O największym polskim Japończyku* (On the Greatest Polish Japanese), in which Weiss's work is presented as an example of artistically digested, instinctive and original Japanese inspiration. Therefore, these two articles take two mutually contradictory positions. Grzybowska's stance, however, has not been reflected in subsequent scholarship on Polish Japonisme. Her denial of profound Japanese inspirations in Polish art has been indirectly discredited in the sense that virtually all other scholarship on the subject discerns weighty, original and often non-derivative inspirations. Grzybowska's paper had unfortunately been influential internationally, as it was for a while the only work on Polish Japonisme in English - *The Pseudojapanese in "Young Poland" Art* in 'Artibus et Historiae' vol. 6, no 11 (1985).

In the same volume one finds three other papers pertaining to the taste for Japan in Polish art and culture. *Stanisław Witkiewicz i Japonia* (Stanisław Witkiewicz and Japan) by Maria Olszaniecka discusses intelligently the relationship of Poland's most prominent art critic, theoretician, philosopher and artist of the turn of the century Stanisław Witkiewicz with the art and aesthetics of Japan. She concludes, that even though Witkiewicz left no works devoted exclusively to Japanese art, his entire creation as a writer, and to a large extent his painting too, coincide with the worldview typical of Japanese aesthetics. More importantly, she argues, Witkiewicz, whose literary output largely predates the first wave of Japonisme in Poland, had prepared the ground for the reception of Japanese art among the artists of Young Poland. Another beneficial aspect of Olszaniecka's paper deals with Witkiewicz's friendship with Feliks Jasieński. Janusz Bogdanowski's contribution to the volume *Postać i znaczenie motywów kompozycji dalekowschodnich w parkach polskich* (The Form and Meaning of Far Eastern Compositional Motifs in Polish Parks) offers an unprecedented, although somewhat general discourse on Japanese and Chinese inspired parks and gardens in Poland. Finally, the last relevant paper in the publication *Orient w Wilanowie. Szkic do obrazu kultury artystycznej Wschodu i jej europejskich mutacji w dawnej rezydencji Jana III Sobieskiego* (The Orient in Wilanów. A Sketch for the Image of Art and Culture of the East and its

European Mutations in the Old Residence of John III Sobieski) by Wojciech Fijałkowski is an illuminating study of 17th century fashion for East Asian art at the court of the Polish king John III Sobieski.

In 1985, the first attempt at the analysis of Japonisme in Polish literature by M. Podraza-Kwiatkowska appears in *Sonnambulicy, dekadenci, herosi. Studia i eseje o literaturze Młodej Polski* (Sonnambulics, Decadents, Heroes. Studies and essays on the Literature of Young Poland) entitled *Inspiracje japońskie w literaturze Młodej Polski. Rekonesans* (Japanese Inspirations in the Literature of Young Poland. Reconnaissance). In 1987, Zofia Alberowa published a useful monograph on the collection of Japanese art in the National Museum in Cracow, also available in English under the title *Japanese Art in the National Museum in Cracow*. The 1989 exhibition *Manggha: Wystawa kolekcji Feliksa Mangghi Jasieńskiego* (Manggha: An Exhibition of Feliks Manggha Jasieński's Collection) held at the National Museum in Cracow and curated by Stefania Kozakowska put on display all aspects of Jasieński's collection, including an impressive assortment of Japanese art. The catalogue for this exhibition focuses mainly on the person of the collector as seen by his contemporaries.

1989 is a crucial point in Polish history because of the far-reaching changes following the collapse of the communist system. From then onwards, the domains of art, art history and cultural heritage receive considerably more attention and backing from the authorities. Consequently, one observes a marked increase in the interest in all things Japanese. The creation of the Kyoto-Cracow Foundation of Andrzej Wajda and Krystyna Zachwatowicz, which has as the main objective the creation of adequate premises for the display of Jasieński's collection of oriental art, inaugurates a period of unprecedented activity embracing all aspects of popularisation of Japanese art and culture in Poland. In other words, one is tempted to say that Poland has entered another phase of Japonisme.

In 1990, the National Museum in Cracow mounts an exhibition in Tokyo, Osaka and Sapporo entitled *Pôrandō no Nippon. Japan in the Fin-de-Siècle Poland. Feliks Jasieński's Collection of Japanese Art and Polish Modernism* curated by Zofia Alber, Maria Dzieduszycka, Małgorzata Martini and Beata Romanowicz. Through this exposition, the Japanese public has for the first time a chance to get familiar not only with Jasieński's collection but also with Polish Japonisme. The exhibition included nearly 300 pieces and was accompanied by a catalogue with excellent illustrations as well as textual contributions by both Polish and Japanese scholars (Zofia Alber, Sekiguchi Tokimasa, Satô Mitsunobu and Łukasz Kossowski). The most pertinent essay to the present review is Kossowski's work *Inspirations of Japanese Art in Polish Modernist Painting*, which appears to be a synopsis of the author's earlier writings on the subject. Regrettably, the English translation of the short

message from the Director of the National Museum in Cracow Tadeusz Chruścicki is strewn with elementary grammatical, spelling and stylistic mistakes.

The long-awaited monograph on Jasieński and his creation came in 1992 as a joint venture from Ewa Miodońska-Brookes and Maria Cieśla-Korytowska. *Feliks Jasieński i jego Manggha* (*Feliks Jasieński and His Manggha*) relates the authors' findings in four major narrative themes. The first, situated mainly in the footnotes, presents an original analysis of archival sources for the study of Jasieński, his literary output and his Japonisme. The second is a rich selection of illustrative material related to the person of the collector. The third and the most extensive one presents a broad selection of translations of Jasieński's French and Polish Manggha, which facilitated immensely subsequent research on the subject. The fourth is a successful attempt at the description, classification, interpretation, and to a certain extent evaluation of the above-mentioned three themes.

Although the Warsaw based Japonologist Ewa Pałasz-Rutkowska does not specialise in the field of Japonisme as such, certain publications of hers are invaluable to the study of Polish Japonisme. Her cooperation with Andrzej Kromer yielded a historical perspective of Polish-Japanese relations in *Historia stosunków polsko-japońskich, 1904-1945* (*The History of Polish-Japanese Relations, 1904-1945*) (1996, republished in 2009). *Pragmatyzm czy szczerzy podziw dla duszy Japonii – obraz Japonii w wybranych publikacjach* (*Pragmatism or Genuine Admiration for the Japanese Spirit – The Image of Japan in Selected Publications from the 1920s and 1930s*) (1999) published in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*; and *Japan's Image in Poland – "The Other" in Intercultural Contacts from the End of the Nineteenth to the Beginning of the Twentieth Century* (2004) delivered at 'The Unifying Aspects of Culture' conference in Vienna present the reasons why certain, and no other, images of Japan were formed in Poland. These works place the discussion of Polish Japonisme in the context of the dichotomy 'self-other'.

In 1994, The manggha¹⁹ Centre of Japanese Art and Technology was launched in Cracow. It has since become a major centre for the popularisation of Japanese culture in the country. The exhibitions organised by this institution have significantly furthered the scholarship of Polish Japonisme. In 1999/2000, manggha together with the Museum of Literature in Warsaw curated the exhibition *Chopin – Polska – Japonia* (*Chopin – Poland – Japan*) to celebrate the 80th anniversary of the initiation of diplomatic relations between Poland and Japan, as well as to commemorate 'The Chopin Year'. The exhibition toured

¹⁹ The word 'manggha' has traditionally been written with a capital letter when referring to Feliks Jasieński's Japanese-derived alias, whereas when used as the name of the Centre, and subsequently the Museum of Japanese Art & Technology in Cracow, it is not capitalised.

Tokyo, Osaka, Warsaw and Cracow, and was accompanied by a large catalogue, a part of which was dedicated to the issues of Polish Japonisme. The essay on Japanese inspirations in Polish art by Łukasz Kossowski reiterates earlier knowledge on the subject, but it also signals new areas for future research. Thus, in the brief but informative overview of the history of Japonisme in Polish art, the author takes the reader not only through the period of Young Poland (1890-1914), but also, flags the question of interwar Japonisme and even its post-war development.

One of these new uncharted areas of study was addressed in 1998 and published in 2000 by Andrzej Strumillo as *Pomiędzy ascezą a żywiołem – inspiracje i echa sztuki azjatyckiej w twórczości współczesnych artystów polskich* (Between Asceticism and Natural Forces – The Inspirations and Echoes of Asian Art in the Works of Contemporary Polish Artists) in the volume *Orient w kulturze polskiej* (The Orient in Polish Culture), the fruit of a session commemorating the 25th anniversary of the foundation of the Museum of Asia and the Pacific in Warsaw held in October 1998. The same volume features Jerzy Malinowski's paper *Podróż Juliana Fałata do Chin i Japonii w 1885 roku* (Julian Fałat's Journey to China and Japan in 1885), in which he discusses not only the artist's itinerary of his trip to East Asia, but also the earliest phase of Fałat's Japonisme, namely those works of his that were created during this trip, directing attention among other things to a painting depicting a scene at a Buddhist cemetery in Japan entitled *Soap Bubbles*. The paper deals at length with Fałat's enthusiastic views on Japan, its culture, the influence of Buddhism on life and his thoughts on certain historic monuments in Japan. This work is important to the scholarship of early Japonisme in Poland, and in particular to the discussion of the impact of Chinese and Japanese painting and graphic arts on Fałat's art.

So far the research relating to the Polish taste for Japan has been the domain of Polish scholars, with the notable exception of David Crowley, who studied at the Cracow Academy of Art in the 1980s. In a conference on the cultural issues pertaining to the Russo-Japanese war of 1905 *Re-imagining Culture in the Russo-Japanese War* held at Birkbeck College, University of London in March 2004, Crowley presented a paper on the cultural repercussions of the Russo-Japanese war in Poland *Looking for Poland in Japan: Polish art world responses to the Russo-Japanese war*. In 2008, he returned to the subject in an article published in *The Russian Review* entitled *Seeing Japan, Imagining Poland: Polish Art and the Russo-Japanese War*. Here Crowley draws our attention to a particularly political charge of Polish Japonisme by showing how Polish artists, collectors and writers used symbols of Japan to comment on the political, social and cultural state of Poland.

From the start of the 21st century the research of Polish Japonisme has been undertaken with dramatically increased frequency, which attests to the growing demand for

publications relating to Japan. In 2003/2004 The Presidential Palace Gallery in Warsaw hosted the exhibition *Kolekcja sztuki japońskiej Ignacego Jana Paderewskiego i innych ofiarodawców* (Japanese Art from the Collection of Ignacy Jan Paderewski and Other Donors). The National Museum in Warsaw, where Paderewski's collection is held, houses one of the most significant assemblages of Japanese art in the country, despite having been decimated by war losses. Today, the donation of the world-famous Polish pianist, composer and the President of Poland in the interwar period forms the bulk of the Varsovian collection. The modest catalogue for the exhibition provides a concise history of the Warsaw collections of Japanese art.

Following the opening of a permanent exposition devoted to Feliks Jasieński in one of the branches of the National Museum in Cracow – Kamienica Szolańskich (The Szolańskis' Tenement House), the museum published a guide to the section. Feliks Manggha *Jasieński: Szkic do portretu* (*Feliks Manggha Jasieński: A Sketch for a Portrait*) (2006) was conceived as an abridged version of the Guide to the Japanese Section of the Department of the National Museum in Cracow, written by Jasieński in 1906.

In 2006, the manggha Centre of Japanese Art and Technology inaugurated a cycle of monographic presentations of Polish Japonisme. The first in the series was the exhibition of Olga Boznańska's Japanese inspirations Manggha *Boznańskiej: Inspiracje sztuką Japonii w malarstwie Olgi Boznańskiej* (*Boznańska & Manggha: Japanese Art Inspirations in Olga Boznańska's Painting*) (2006). The catalogue for the exhibition edited by Anna Król is an essential reading for students of Polish Japonisme as it shows a different and unusual face of such inspirations. This subject was hitherto neglected owing to the overall unfamiliarity with Boznańska's art. Only recent discovery of many of her works has made this angle of research possible. The catalogue is a useful tool for the investigation of Polish Japonisme also because it provides an updated interpretation of the overall conception of the phenomenon of Japonisme in Poland. Anna Król's essay identifies the artist's attraction to Japanese aesthetics in her portraits, still lifes, cityscapes and floral compositions. Another contribution illuminates the nature of the connection between Boznańska and Feliks Jasieński. The excellent quality of the photography, much desired in research where the oeuvre of the artist is often inaccessible to the public or lost altogether, raises the value of the publication. Furthermore, the catalogue contains such helpful aids as a good bibliography and a timeline that is rich in detail.

The second instalment in the series was *Obraz świata, który przemija. Inspiracje sztuką Japonii w malarstwie Jana Stanisławskiego i jego uczniów* (*An Image of a Floating World: Japanese Art Inspirations in the Painting of Jan Stanisławski and his Students*) (2007) curated by Anna Król. Though the Japanese quality in Stanisławski's landscape painting had

been recognised earlier by Łukasz Kossowski, this is the first in-depth inquiry into the subject. Following the precedent set by Boznańska's exhibition, the catalogue has essays on Stanisławski's Japonisme, his relationship with Jasieński and a large number of superb illustrations. In addition, the biographic notes on Stanisławski's students from the Cracow Academy of Fine Arts indicate potential areas of research hereafter.

Not a year elapsed and manggha put up another exhibition *Widok z okna pracowni artysty na Kopiec Kościuszki. Inspiracje sztuką Japonii w twórczości Stanisława Wyspiańskiego* (*View of Kościuszko Mound from the Artist's Study Window: Japanese Art Inspirations in the Work of Stanisław Wyspiański*) (2007). The exhibition focused, but was not limited to the pastel views of Kościuszko Mound, a series instigated by Jasieński. The series, comprising different approaches to the same view of this spiritual and patriotic symbol in contemporary (and modern) Poland had been already noticed by David Crowley in the context of Japanese inspirations as a response to the Russo-Japanese war, but this exhibition and catalogue provide a more thorough examination of the problem. This undertaking was an important step forward in the sense that it successfully brought together for the first time the dispersed pieces of the series to facilitate further study.

The fourth episode in the series of presentations of Polish Japonisme at manggha Ten krakowski Japończyk...*Inspiracje sztuką Japonii w twórczości Wojciecha Weiss* (That Kraków Japanist. Japanese Art Inspirations in the work of Wojciech Weiss) (Weiss, 2008) made the most exhaustive contribution of the cycle to date. The exhibition was arranged in collaboration with the Wojciech Weiss Foundation Museum in Cracow and the National Museum in Poznań. The articles in the catalogue are wide-ranging in their approaches to Weiss's Japonisme: Małgorzata Martini offers a closer look at Weiss's collection of ukiyo-e; Renata Weiss explains an array of Japanese inspirations in the work of her grandfather. Other contributions address Weiss's Japanising eroticism of the female image, his fascination with kachô-ga (flower and bird painting), Japanese landscape, ink painting and calligraphy, as well as something that has become a forgone conclusion in the series – an essay on the impact of Feliks Manggha Jasieński on the oeuvre of Wojciech Weiss.

2009 brought another exhibition in the series: *Podróż do Japonii. Inspiracje sztuką Japonii w twórczości Juliana Fałata* (*A Journey to Japan. Japanese Art Inspirations in the Work of Julian Fałat*). The author of the conception of the series 'Polish Japonisme' – Anna Król – is planning several other monographic exhibitions. In October 2010, to accompany the Third Conference of Japanese Art Historians, manggha organised an exhibition focusing on the use of the Japanese artefact in Polish art *Martwa natura z japońską laleczką* (*Still Life with a Japanese Doll*) (Król 2010).

Besides staging exhibitions, the manggha Museum in Cracow, among other activities, convenes conferences devoted to Japanese art and culture. The International Conference in Japanese Studies held in October 2007 brought three original papers relevant to the subject at hand. Ewa Machotka of the Gakushin University in Tokyo delivered an article entitled *“Japaneseness” as self and other: Constructing national identity – Katsushika Hokusai and Feliks Manggha Jasieński*. Making an inquiry into the nature of national identity constructs produced on the eve of the birth of the two modern nation-states – Japan and Poland, she examines the non-political sphere of fine arts. The paper is an innovative comparative analysis of Hokusai’s artistic practice on the one hand, and Jasieński’s theory on Japanese art on the other. Machotka centres her discussion on an examination of Hokusai’s woodblock print series *Hyakunin isshu uba ga etoki* (*Hyakunin isshu as Picture-Explained by the nurse*) (1835) and Jasieński’s selected writings, principally his *Guide to the Japanese Department of the National Museum in Cracow* of 1906. Magdalena Kołodziej of Freie Universitat Berlin focused on the Polish artist Kazimierz Zieleniewski and his stay in Japan in 1918. A graduate of the Cracow Academy of Fine Arts and a student of the ‘Cracow Japanese’ – Wojciech Weiss, Zieleniewski was allegedly mentioned in a Japanese art history book in 1942, which suggests that his work was relatively popular there. Kołodziej’s paper pays special attention to the artist’s relations with Japanese artists and the reception of his painting. Finally, Agnieszka Kluczevska-Wójcik of the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń (Poland) illuminated the role of Paris in the development of Polish Japonisme in Paris – the capital of Polish Japonism. The guiding principle of Kluczevska-Wójcik’s paper is tracing the various routes by which the influence of the Japanese art was reaching Polish artists and placing Paris at the centre of this phenomenon. The author recognises this important function of Paris for three reasons. Firstly, it was the place of the discovery of Japanese art for many Polish artists in the 1880s (L. Wyczółkowski, J. Stanisławski, W. Ślweński, S. Witkiewicz) and at the turn of the century (S. Wyspiański, J. Mehoffer, S. Dębicki, K. Laszczka, E. Okuń, W. Weiss, S. Kamocki, S. Jagmin). Secondly, the first Polish theoretical and descriptive works on Japanese art were written there: the writings of Zenon Miriam Przesmycki and Feliks Jasieński, who upon return to Poland presented this new artistic trend to the Polish public. Thirdly, the most consequential Polish collections of Japanese and other Far Eastern art were assembled in Paris, namely those of Edward Goldstein, Stanisław Dębicki and above all Feliks Jasieński. It is important to note that apart from Paris, there were other European centres radiating the trend of Japonisme onto the Polish artistic scene: Munich, Vienna, Berlin and St. Petersburg. However, this issue still awaits a scholarly treatment.

The above-mentioned Agnieszka Kluczevska-Wójcik takes an important place in the scholarship of Polish Japonisme. Her research in the field started with her unpublished

doctoral dissertation on Feliks Jasieński – Feliks Manggha Jasieński (1861-1929), collectionneur et animateur de la vie artistique en Pologne – completed at the University of Sorbonne in 1998. She published several articles in French periodicals on various issues relating to Japonisme in general and its Polish strand, as for instance ‘Paris-Berlin-Cracovie: Feliks Manggha Jasieński (1861-1929), un collectionneur polonaise au debut de XXe siècle’ (1994). Her work on Japonisme has continued throughout her tenure as a lecturer of art history at the University of Nicolaus Copernicus in Toruń. In a compilation of articles on the problem of taste *Rozważania o smaku artystycznym* (Debates on Taste in Art) (2002), we find her essay on Japonisme in fashion ‘Od Japonaiseries do Japonizmu: Japonia w sztuce i modzie przełomu wieków’ (From Japonaiseries to Japonism: Japan in Art and Fashion at the Turn of the Century). In 2006, she published *The Klinger Collection of Feliks Manggha Jasieński* in ‘Print Quarterly’, and in 2007, at a conference on the history of Polish art criticism at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries held at the University of Toruń she presented a paper entitled ‘Sztuka japońska w polskiej krytyce artystycznej na przełomie XIX i XX wieku’ (Japanese Art in Polish Art Criticism at the Cusp of the 19th and 20th Centuries). 2008 brought another article from Kluczeńska-Wójcik “‘Nie piszę, aby się Wam podobać’ Feliks Jasieński – skandalista’ (‘I am not writing to appease You’. Feliks Jasieński – the Scandaliser) in the volume *Sława i zapomnienie* (Fame and Obscurity), in which she presents the circumstances of the numerous scandals caused by the uncompromising Jasieński in his battle for Japanese art in Poland. Furthermore, her post-doctoral dissertation, which is currently in progress, will be the first work on Japonisme in Polish applied arts. In 2007 she instigated and became the director of a major project whose final product is intended to be a multi-volume monograph on Feliks Jasieński’s collection of art at the National Museum in Cracow. It is important to mention that in 2006 Kluczeńska-Wójcik became the president of the Warsaw branch of The Polish Society of Oriental Art (PSSO).

Polish scholarship of Japonisme by no means matches its counterparts in France, Britain or Germany; nonetheless, it has a relatively long and rich tradition. However, there are certain areas that as yet have not been given adequate scholarly scrutiny. Above all, there is a need for a publication addressing Polish Japonisme in its entirety, one that would reflect the overall conception of the taste for Japan in Poland not only during the period of Young Poland, but also in the interwar and post-war years. Besides, there are a number of Polish artists whose work has not been thoroughly examined from the point of view of Japanese inspirations.

Chapter II: Foreign Models: Fin-de-Siècle Japonisme in Poland 1885-1900

Chinese and Japanese Art in Poland 16th -19th Century

The first tide of Japonisme permeated Europe in the second half of the 19th century, when the development of the West's love affair with Japan was enabled by abolishing the Japanese seclusion policy known as sakoku²⁰ in 1854. Prior to that, Japanese foreign contacts were restricted to trade with the Dutch and Chinese at Dejima in Nagasaki, the Koreans at the Tsushima Domain, and the Ryûkyû Kingdom in the Satsuma Domain. These controlled and confined contacts were the corollary of the failed Christian mission to Japan. Initially, the shogunate endorsed Christianity hoping it would reduce the power of Buddhist monks and facilitate trade with the Portuguese and Spanish, however, apprehensive of colonialism, and increasingly aware of Roman Catholicism's subversive potential, the Japanese government began persecuting Christians. It was during this mission in the 16th and 17th centuries that the Poles had first contact with the Japanese and Japan.

The first knowledge about Japan, albeit largely unreliable, reached Poland in the 15th century via Latin language descriptions of Marco Polo's voyages in Asia, which he included in his *Il Millione* (Million) (Pałasz-Rutkowska & Romer 2009, 21-22). The first information on Japan by a Polish writer came from *Żywoty Świętych* (1579) by the Jesuit Piotr Skarga-Pawęski (1536-1612), who was interested in the Catholic mission to East Asia, and resumed the subject of Japan in his *Kazania sejmowe* (1597) (Pałasz-Rutkowska & Romer 2009, 22). The very first recorded encounter between Polish and Japanese nationals took place in Rome on 23 March 1585 during an audience with Pope Gregory XIII. Bernard Maciejowski (1548-1608), the future Primate of Poland, acting on behalf the Polish King Stefan Batory and his wife Queen Anna Jagiellon, met four Japanese converts: Itô Mancio, Chijiwa Miguel, Nakamura Juliao and Hara Martinho (Pałasz-Rutkowska & Romer 2009, 22). The Polish contribution to the early Christian mission in Japan was marginal; nonetheless there are a few figures that are worth mentioning. Wojciech Męciński (1598-1643), who joined the Jesuits in Rome in 1621, left for a mission to Japan in 1631 (Czermiński 1895; Natoński 1975). Via China and Cambodia, he eventually reached Satsuma in 1642 in Chinese disguise. Discovered by Shogun Hidetada's people (13 August 1642), he was sent to Nagasaki (21 August 1642)

²⁰ Sakoku (鎖国, lit. locked or chained country) – Japanese foreign relations policy forbidding Westerners to enter and the Japanese to leave the country under penalty of death. It was introduced by the shogun Tokugawa Iemitsu in a series of edicts issued between 1633 and 1639, and remained in effect until 1954.

and subjected to repeated tortures. On 16 August 1642 he was hung upside down and after seven days died a martyr's death. Descriptions of Męciński's death reached Poland and contributed to an increase in the interest in Japan (Wasilewska-Dobkowska 2006, 125-126).

Comparatively more significant was the Polish participation in the Christian mission to China in the 17th century (Klepacki 2002). Jan Mikołaj Smogulecki (1610-1656), nobleman, politician and scholar, joined the Jesuit Order in 1634 or 1636 (sources vary) and declared his intent to be a missionary in distant lands (Witkowska 2010). After several years of theological studies in Cracow, he went to Rome in 1640. In 1645 he travelled from Portugal to Java, India and China. Having studied Chinese language and customs in Jiangnan and Hangzhou, he moved to Nanjing and adopted a Chinese name Mu Ni-co²¹. While active as a missionary in Nanking, about 1647, a civil war forced him to move to Jianyang in the Chinese province of Fujian. Besides his missionary duties, he taught astronomy and mathematics, and is credited with introducing to China both the Copernican solar system and logarithms. He was the teacher of the scholar and astronomer Xue Fengzuo, the first Chinese to publish work using logarithms. Smogulecki, at the peak of his fame, was invited by the Shunzhi Emperor to his court in Beijing. Michał Piotr Boym (Chinese: 卜弥格, ca. 1612-1659) was another notable Jesuit Pole active in China. A son of a physician to King Sigismund III Vasa of Poland, Boym joined the Jesuits in 1631, and following a decade of studies in Polish monasteries, set out on a voyage to East Asia in 1643. During the struggle between the fallen Southern Ming Dynasty, whose many members converted to Christianity in the hope of attracting Western help, and the newly established Qing, Boym acted as an emissary of the Yongli (southern) court, and carried letters from Empress dowager Helena and the Emperor's secretary Pang Achilles to Pope Innocent X, the General of the Jesuit Order, Cardinal John de Lugo, the Doge of Venice and the King of Portugal. After long peregrinations, the mission proved eventually unsuccessful. Among the works Boym left is the *Flora Sinensis* (Chinese Flora) published in Vienna in 1656, the first such European publication on East Asia, describing a Chinese ecosystem and enriched with his illustrations depicting plants and animals. (fig. 1- 4) They may be considered the first Polish representations inspired by East Asia.

During the reign of King Jan III Sobieski, who ascended the throne in 1674, and his French wife Queen Marie Casimire Louise de la Grange D'Arquien, Poland witnessed the first phase of an interest in chinoiserie imported from and modelled on contemporary fashion in Western Europe rather than a result of genuine fascination with China. Whereas in

²¹ Smogulecki's Chinese name appears also as Mu Ni-ko, Mu Nike, Mu Nigo, and certain sources add a third part, Rude, as in "Mu Nigo Rude".

Holland, Britain or France chinoiserie was a symbol of colonialist glory, in 17th and 18th-century Poland the association with chinoiserie was a sign of good taste and worldliness, an observance of fashions of the day dictated by Paris (Łakomska 2008, 144). This is not to say, however, that a desire for a politically motivated contact with China did not affect the actions of King Sobieski. In the 1930s, in the Cracow Jesuit archive a letter personally written by the king and addressed to the Chinese Emperor Kangxi of the Manchurian dynasty was found. In it, the king inquires about China's position in relation to Ottoman Turkey, but also requests information about China itself (Bednarski 1933, 531-534). According to present knowledge, this attempt to forge direct contacts with China proved unsuccessful, nonetheless, Sobieski's court, most probably at the instigation of his French wife, and certainly his court librarian the Jesuit Adam Kochański, became the epicentre of chinoiserie in Poland (Fijałkowski 1979). The Warsaw Royal Castle and the Wilanów Palace with their Chinese-styled interiors were copied throughout the country by the magnates. It manifested itself not only in architectural projects, such as the Queen's Chinese Palace, the King's Chinese Room (1686), or the Anglo-Chinese garden, all in the summer royal residence in Wilanów near Warsaw; but also in the numerous items of decorative art listed in the extant inventories of various residences of the royal couple (Fijałkowski 1986). Besides an extensive collection of porcelain, lacquer and numerous both authentic and stylised Chinese pieces like Queen's Marie's Chinese duvet (fig. 5), the inventories enumerate a few items of Japanese pedigree, which confirms the fluidity of these categories (Japanese and Chinese) in 17th century Europe. The discussion of chinoiserie is pertinent to the present thesis because before the end of the 19th century chinoiserie was the primary vehicle for introducing Japanese art to Poland.

By the first decades of the 18th century, a period of transition from Baroque to Rococo, Polish gentry had adopted the French currents of the time and, with them, a taste for chinoiserie. The next impetus towards its development came from the renewed interest in Chinese and Japanese porcelain under the rule of Fridrich August Elector of Saxony (1670-1733), who reigned simultaneously as August II the Strong of Poland (1697-1706 and 1709-1733). In 1709 he established the Meissen manufactory near Dresden, where the first high quality porcelain outside China was produced. August employed Johann Friedrich Böttger (1682-1717) the co-inventor of the European formula for porcelain, which required Colditz clay, calcinated alabaster and quartz. From 1710, the Royal Meissen Factory, with its branch in Albrechtsburg, produced ceramics through Chinese-inspired methods, using fanciful Chinese and Japanese designs. Japanese wares like the Kakeimon vases were imitated as *Indianische Blume* (The Flowers of the Indies). The success was so great that counterfeit Meissen copies of Japanese originals were sold to the Kakiemon-crazed Parisian aristocracy as original Japanese pieces from August's personal collection. To house and display his

Chinese, Japanese and Meissen porcelain, August commissioned Matthäus Daniel Pöppelmann (1662-1736) to build the Japanese Palace, a vast quadrilateral with Eastern-style roofs of the corner pavilions, richly decorated with oriental motifs, and an adjacent garden overlooking the river.²² Although Meissen was outside Poland, the shared monarchy in the person of King August launched a period of close political, economic and cultural relations between Saxony and Poland, facilitating the influx of Meissen chinoiserie into Poland. Furthermore, August employed Pöppelmann again to rebuild the interiors of the Wilanów, Blue and Kazimierzowski Palaces in the new Rococo style full of oriental references. The Chinese Room in the Wilanów Palace, designed to replace Jan III Sobieski's Chinese Room, has survived (fig. 6). It was created in 1731 by one of August's court painters of the Schnell clan.²³ The ceiling is adorned with representations of exotic birds and dragons, the decorative wall panels depict landscapes with figures, explicated by accompanying Chinese inscriptions. To complete the ensemble, Chinese and Japanese furniture (fig. 7-8) and oriental porcelain were incorporated into the décor.

Alongside the royal initiative to promote an oriental taste in Poland, the Jesuits ran a parallel programme of ecclesiastical chinoiserie. Their projects were realised mainly in ecclesiastical architecture and décor (fig. 9)²⁴, but also in textile and furniture design. The examples of chinoiserie in Polish secular architecture are less numerous than those in Western Europe, and are generally more modest versions of those from Kew Gardens, Sanssouci, Chanteloup and Pillnitz (Yamada 1935). Comparatively there are more textiles and embroideries both Orient-stylised and authentic East Asian ones in Polish collections (fig. 10-11) (Chrzanowski 1986, 62).

The exoticism of chinoiserie in Western Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries was the very reason for its popularity; in Poland however its exotic character was not as obvious. As Tadeusz Chrzanowski rightly observed, most trends in art at the time were 'imported' to

²² The Japanese Palace was most likely inspired by Louis XIV's Trianon de Porcelaine, which August saw in Paris in 1687, in particular the life-size porcelain menagerie for the long gallery on the upper floor added on at the end of Augustus' life.

²³ Based on the close similarities with the interiors in the Palais Ramenau near Dresden, Dr J. Menzhausen attributed August's Wilanów Chinese interiors to Martin Schnell, or Johann Christoph Schnell.

²⁴ The Jesuit church in Grudziądz, built between 1715 and 1723, whose interior decoration was finished in 1740 has interesting Chinese-stylised woodcarvings by Józef Antoni Krause. It was painted by Ignacy Steiner with an iconographical programme which reflected the contemporary Jesuit involvement in the East Asian mission. One finds here references to St Francis Xavier, St Ignatius Loyola, personifications of the continents, while all the altars, the pulpit and the choir have been covered in an imitation of lacquer, decorated with clearly Chinese-inspired landscapes, birds, architecture and even small figures of Chinese people.

Poland, consequently appearing foreign and exotic to the Poles (Chrzanowski 1986, 56-59). Whether it was the styles of Louis XIV or XV, Delft of Italian ceramics, tapestries from Lyon or Flanders, Parisian hairstyles, Ottoman attire, or chinoiserie including Japanese artefacts, the Poles perceived them under a generic rubric of 'exotic'. Such circumstances actually facilitated the assimilation of East Asian taste in Poland, where the public was accustomed to being confronted with the constant influx of foreign, exotic concepts. Furthermore, in the eyes of Western Europeans, the Poles appeared increasingly exotic themselves. In fact, from the outset alongside pseudo-Chinese and pseudo-Japanese porcelain, the Meissen workshops produced figurines of Tartars, Negroes and Polish gentry attired in the national costume, which by then had been heavily inspired by the Islamic Orient (fig. 12-14) (Piątkiewicz-Dereniowa, 68; Mrozowski 1986).

The Age of Enlightenment brought an ethnographic interest in the Orient, but the already established practice of collecting East Asian art and designing oriental-styled architecture continued to flourish too. Such magnate families as the Czartoryskis, Lubomirskis, Poniatowskis and Potockis actively contributed to the trend. The noble, art connoisseur, patron and collector Stanisław Kostka Potocki (1755-1821) was the most important promoter of that taste in his time. In 1815 he published *O sztuce u dawnych, czyli Winckelmann polski* – a translation of Winckelmann's *History of Ancient Art* (1764), to which he added a chapter on Chinese art *O sztuce u Chińczyków*. The records of Potocki's purchases made during his trips to Paris in 1808 include long lists of Chinese and Japanese objects, which he added to his oriental collection at the Wilanów Palace in Warsaw. To accommodate this ever-growing assemblage, Potocki turned a chain of rooms on the first floor of the residence into a gallery of Chinese and Japanese art. In the adjacent park, he commissioned the Chinese Pavilion designed by Piotr Aigner and based on the drawings of William Chambers (fig. 15).²⁵ Other notable examples of 18th and early 19th-century chinoiserie in Polish architecture are the Chinese house in Branicki palace gardens in Białystok built in the 1750s by Pierre Ricaud de Tirregaille, and Princess Izabela Lubomirska's oriental chambers in Wilanów, especially her bedroom. There exists evidence in the form of Christie's

²⁵ William Chambers (1723-1796) – Scottish architect, who travelled several times to China with the Swedish East India Company. Having studied Chinese architecture and garden design there, he became an important disseminator of both upon his return to Europe. In 1757 he wrote *Designs of Chinese buildings, furniture, dresses, machines and utensils*: to which is annexed a description of their temples, houses and gardens; and in 1772 *A dissertation on oriental gardening*.

catalogues that Prince Stanisław Poniatowski (1754-1833), the nephew of the last king of Poland, took an avid interest in East Asian art.²⁶

Heralds and Forerunners: Laying the Groundwork for Japonisme

Following the Third Partition in 1795, for the next 123 years Poland was deprived of an independent state on the map of Europe, but the nation continued to exist within the three occupied zones: Austrian, Prussian and Russian. This experience shaped the development of Polish culture and art in the 19th century. Throughout that period the artist was seen as a politician and a representative of the subjugated nation. The yearning for independence dominated most cultural pursuits. A measure of value in literature and art was patriotism manifested by glorifying Polish history, preserving and perpetuating its traditions, direct or covert subversiveness directed against the occupying powers, and feeding the hopes for the much desired freedom. Historicism and Academicism, typical of European art in the second half of the 19th century, harmonised well with this patriotic prerequisite for artistic expression in Poland. Polonocentrism was at the heart of the work by Poland's greatest painter of the 19th century Jan Matejko. Not unlike the messianic conception of Poland envisaged by the Polish bard Adam Mickiewicz, whereby the 'crucified' Motherland would be resurrected like Christ, Matejko's painterly equivalent moulded the vision of Poland's history for generations of Poles. Mickiewicz and Matejko, alongside others, were regarded by the nation as 'artists-prophets' or even interreges appointed to reign over the spirit of the stateless nation.

The Patriarch of Modernism: Stanisław Witkiewicz and Japan

In the climate described above, Japanese art with its diametrically different criteria of beauty, and - from the Polish point of view - alien aesthetics, had a slender chance of great appeal to the Polish audience. According to Maria Olszaniecka, whose findings form the basis for this subchapter, had it not been for Stanisław Witkiewicz, an influential art critic and

²⁶ A Catalogue of the valuable and very interesting Gabinet of Objects of Taste & Vertu of the late Prince Poniatowski, and recently received from his Palace at Florence...Messrs. Christie & Manson, at their great room, 8 King Street, St. James Square on Wednesday, February 6, 1839, and following day, and Catalogue of Pictures by Old Masters, Books of Engravings, Antique Furniture, Porcelain, Lace, Bijouterie and Carvings Ivory, the Property of Prince Charles Poniatowski, of Florence; Also some Spanish Embroideries and Carvings in Wood, at their great room, 8 King Street, St. James Square on Friday, May 26, 1876.

theoretician, Japonisme might have been a mere fleeting and insignificant episode in the history of Polish art (Olszaniecka 1986). Although his attitude to Japanese art was highly ambivalent, his theories of art prepared Polish Modernists for its reception. That Witkiewicz valued Japanese art may be inferred from a number of statements he made in his writings and letters to friends and family. In 1892 he expressed his delight at *Japonerie d'automne* – a Japanese book he received as a gift from the Gielgud family in London (Witkiewicz 1892). Through comparisons with certain aspects of Japanese art, its subtlety in depicting life and honesty in portraying natural phenomena, he complimented Juliusz Kossak's studies from nature (Witkiewicz 1970, 76). In his study Aleksander Gierymski (1903) he drew attention to the late artist's 'Japonisme, which in its most sublime manifestations is a subtle sketch' (Witkiewicz 1970, 442). He adored the ingenuity and delicateness of the Japanese woodblock, while Hiroshige's artistic device of bold diagonal lines, bent from the wind and employed to convey torrential rain, elicited from him an enthusiastic 'Banzai Nippon' (Witkiewicz 1969). Feliks Manggha Jasiński, who was Witkiewicz's close friend and the greatest connoisseur and collector of Japanese art in Poland, and who brought to Witkiewicz's house in Zakopane 'chests full of Japan', wrote about his friend: 'He must have been – and is – an admirer of Japanese art. I hope he will forgive me that I am spoiling his reputation' (Jasiński 1911, 512). Whereas Jasiński himself in fact did not regard an association with Japanese art as a discreditable matter, he was alluding to accusations against Witkiewicz made by, among others, Ludomir Benedyktowicz, a painter who blamed him for directing the young generation of artists onto a false path of development. In a lampoon from 1905 he wrote:

Witkiewicz, who has nothing to say when he discerns in a painting or sculpture some parallel with Greek art, even when they are depictions of saints and angels, because these are indifferent to him; but blushes from excitement when his compatriots draw and paint in the Japanese manner. (Benedyktowicz 1905, 25-30)

Benedyktowicz traced the origin of the 'Japanese epidemic' – the advent of 'Japanese clutter', the fashion for the 'Japanese contour' – to Witkiewicz's insistence on form as the decisive factor of value in art. In this charge, he was partly right. Witkiewicz's most consequential theoretical work *Sztuka i krytyka u nas* (1884-1890) (1891) is a declaration of his stance on value in art and the aims and methods of art criticism. In it, he proclaimed the superiority of form over content promoting the 'not what, but how' maxim, as well as extolled the didactic properties of nature.²⁷ Contemporary criticism, both in Europe and in Poland,

²⁷ He thought that what was needed was objective criticism that would explain all artistic phenomena - from primitive art to contemporary art. In order to achieve this, it must be recognised that a work of art has an autonomous value, independent of the idea, anecdote or fashion for some direction. He waged a

ascribed the departure from the 'brainless naturalism' to Japanese art, pointing to those of its features that Witkiewicz happened to have postulated as 'constitutional elements' of a work of art (Przesmycki 1901). Whether the convergence of the principles underlying Japanese aesthetics and Witkiewicz's artistic credo was coincidental, or, what is more likely – a consequence of his exposure to Western European tendencies, he was reluctant to acknowledge Japan's function in bringing about this shift, a role, he believed, was his in Polish artistic life.

The voices of many critics expressing their thoughts on Japanese art resounded with Witkiewicz's views on what art should be:

The Japanese have proven that it is not the subject matter, not anecdote, not content, but the individuality of the artist that makes a painting. (Matuszewski 1900, 970)

The Japanese have the ability to convey the most basic and simultaneously most essential manifestations of life. (Muttermilch 1901)

Others praised their vitality and swiftness in conveying movement (Chrzanowski 1902), or their resourcefulness in recreating the atmosphere of rain and wind (Trzebiński 1901). Zenon Przesmycki, in his extended essay *Drzeworyt japoński* (Japanese Woodblock) shared Witkiewicz's opinion of art's other prime concern: conveying the essence of the subject rather than its veristic representation. An aversion to the 'mass addiction to Japonisme' added to Witkiewicz's resentment of his purloined position in Polish art. Being dubious about the apodictic nature of the 'Japanese craze' (Jaroszyński 1901, 153), Witkiewicz opted for a restraint in direct references to Japanese sources. In his unpublished analysis of Stanisław Wyspiański's oeuvre, he considers those characteristics that could have been procured from Japanese art, not once making a reference to it: supple line, contour, flat areas of colour, the use of meaningful void, stylised plant studies rendered in magnified scale. On the contrary, he stresses their independence from the 'current trend in European art', by implication –

war against the then fashionable historical painting, with Matejko at the forefront. He did not agree to the situation in which the value of a work in social reception was decided by a "sheet with a title", namely the theme, idea or anecdote. He did not want a work of art to be boorishly utilitarian or didactic or to refer to national feelings. Obviously, it can do this but only if it affects the viewer by purely artistic means and not because of the worthy intention of the author. His saying that a well-painted head of cabbage is worth more than a badly-painted head of Christ passed into common circulation. What objective tools, therefore, does an art critic have at his disposal? An analysis of the harmony of colours, of the logic of chiaroscuro, of the perfection of form and composition. Witkiewicz was an advocate of realistic painting, although he treated realism quite elastically, accepting impressionist and symbolist tendencies. Art presents reality, nature. Obviously, 'art is not nature. The means by which it evokes impressions in the human mind must often be different from those in nature but the impression itself of the work of art must be as true as the impression received from nature.' (Kossowska 2006)

Japonisme (Witkiewicz 1980). Similar circumvention one finds in his discussions of the works by Władysław Ślewiński and Ferdynand Ruszczyc. Most probably, for the same reasons, he never wrote a piece devoted entirely to Japanese art, or about Feliks Jasiński's collection and exhibitions, in spite of the fact that he was seen by many as Jasiński's predecessor in Poland.

Having appeared on the Polish artistic scene earlier than the first significant wave of Japonisme and finding considerable popularity among artists, Witkiewicz's views on art, paradoxically, had paved the way for the development of the taste for Japan. Regardless of a cautious attitude to all things Japanese on his part, he advocated what were the underlying principles of Japanese aesthetics. According to him, Polish artists should paint in a Polish style, but achieve such expressive results as Japanese artists who paint in the Japanese style. In the essay *Po latach* he mentioned Japanese books, which in a series of representations depicted the yearly cycle through the life of plants (Witkiewicz 1970, 20). The illustrations were drawn in a delicately suggestive style, but exerted a profound impression on the beholder. Witkiewicz offered them as instruction to Polish painters of the Tatra Mountains – a subject that could be successfully approached from the point of view of seasonality in nature.

Witkiewicz's painting represents what he exhorted in his writings, and consequently reveals certain characteristics in common with Japanese art. Among the multitude of illustrations in Wichmann's book on Japonisme there are barely two reproductions of works by Polish artists (Wichmann 1981, 135), one of which is by Witkiewicz (fig. 16). Cropped and incorrectly captioned as *The Wave* from 1906, it is in fact *Lovarn, A Compositional Motif II*, dated 1905 and painted in gouache on cardboard. The theme was taken up by the artist several times (fig. 17-18); however, in Olszaniecka's view it is a result of Witkiewicz's veneration for the work of Arnold Böcklin, more than as a reference to Japan (1986, 78). Instead, she sees a clearer inspiration from Japan in Witkiewicz's 'portraits' of flowers and trees which are elevated to the role of independent subjects (fig. 19-20) (1986, 78). His ability to convey the true essence, spirit and atmosphere of natural phenomena, so typical of much of Japanese art is evident in Witkiewicz's depictions of the Tatra Mountains (fig. 21-25).

In 1914 Kazimierz Sichulski painted a portrait of Witkiewicz (fig. 26), executed in a way that is highly suggestive of the Japanese Kanô School of painting. In the late Muromachi and Momoyama periods, its representatives were associated with Zen temples, and adopted their favoured Chinese manner of monochrome ink painting as well as a preference for such subjects as images of Zen patriarchs. Sichulski's vision of Witkiewicz renders him sitting with crossed legs, drawn with bold ink brushstrokes and little additional pigment. This flat picture makes use of negative space to imply mist, through which are discernible gentle

outlines of mountains in the distance. Considering that Witkiewicz was a sort of a patriarch to Polish Modernism, Sichulski's interpretation is an appropriate tribute.

First Encounters: Paris, Munich, Vienna and St Petersburg

The hubs of European artistic life in the late 19th century were receptive also to the new taste for Japanese art, although in this respect the developments leading towards the formation of Japonisme took place outside of their academies and the official art establishments – a fact that was to be inverted in the case of Polish Japonisme. As Łukasz Kossowski rightly observed, Polish artists were first confronted with this new taste outside of Poland, mainly in Paris and Munich, but also in Vienna and St Petersburg, at the turn of the 1880s and 1890s (Kossowski & Alber 1981). Julian Fałat's encounter with the art of East Asia is exceptionally early against the Polish background and equally unique with regards to the source of its derivation – Japan. These encounters were twofold: visits to and collections exhibitions of Japanese art, and the experience of works by other European artists, Whistler, Manet, Degas, Van Gogh, Gauguin, and others, who had by then incorporated East Asian aesthetics and themes into their oeuvres. In other words, it is important to distinguish between the primary experience of Japanese art and the secondary contact with it in the form of already 'digested' Japaneseness.

Stanisław Dębicki must have come across Japanese art first in Vienna in 1883, then in 1884 in Munich, but certainly during his studies at Académie Colarossi in Paris (Łukaszewicz 1966, 9). There he was encouraged by Zenon Przesmycki, to develop his taste for Japanese art, and was introduced to French Japonisant artists with whom he struck several friendships. Stanisław Wyspiański's encounter took place in Paris during his consecutive four stays there between 1890 and 1894 (Sierakowska 1958, 39-40). The 1890 retrospective exhibition of Japanese woodblock print at the École Nationale des Beaux Arts and the 1893 exhibition of works by Utamaro and Hiroshige at the Galerie Durand-Ruel are among many other events popularising Japanese art that Wyspiański must have been familiar with. Stanisław Witkiewicz most likely saw the Vienna World Exhibition in 1873, where Japan participated officially for the first time, and Exposition Universelle in Paris in 1878 (Olszaniecka 1986, 71). Józef Mehoffer encountered Japonisme in Paris, where he stayed intermittently between 1891 and 1896, or possibly even earlier in Vienna (1889-1890). Similarly, it was in Paris, where Leon Wyczółkowski (1878 and 1889), Jan Stanisławski (1885-1897), Józef Pankiewicz (1889) and Wojciech Weiss (1897) were initiated to Japanese art. Olga Boznańska's first experience of it occurred in the 1880s in Munich, which is confirmed by her early works

depicting her studio filled with Japanese woodblock prints and other East Asian bibelots (Król 2006, 41-42). In 1898, she moved to Paris, where she stayed till the end of her life in 1940, and where the next stimulus from Japanese art reached her. Ferdynand Ruszczyc came in contact with it in St Petersburg in 1896, where he saw an exhibition of Japanese woodblock and expressed his admiration for it (Ruszczyc 1966, 27).

Paris in the second half of the 19th century was the destination for Polish artists. A number of Polish artistic communities were formed there (Bobrowska-Jakubowska 2004, Wierzbicka 2008). Most current trends in art reached Poland via Paris. Although there were other significant ways in which Japonisme penetrated Poland, Paris was rightly named by Agnieszka Kluczevska-Wójcik the capital of Polish Japonisme (Kluczevska-Wójcik 2007). Not only did Polish expatriate-artists bring Japonisme to Poland upon their return to the country, but also the most significant theoretical and descriptive works by Poles on Japanese art were written in Paris; and finally, Paris was the birthplace of Japanese art collections and other oriental art amassed by Edward Goldstein, Stanisław Dębicki and Feliks Jasieński. In addition, it is important to emphasise the point that Vienna also played a significant role in the dissemination of Japonisme in Poland. The main centre of Japonisme within Poland was Cracow, whose artists were involved in the artistic life of Vienna through participation in the Viennese Secession movement and also simply as a result of Cracow's political inclusion in the Habsburg Empire. Among the founding members of the Secession was Julian Fałat, and soon he was joined by Teodor Axentowicz, Józef Mehoffer, Leon Wyczółkowski, Włodzimierz Tetmajer, Stanisław Wyspiański, and others.

Early Manifestations in Painting

During the Young Poland period (1890-1918) – the Polish variety of Modernism, Łukasz Kossowski has identified two intensified waves of interest in Japan, and therefore of enlivened transposition of Japanese themes and aesthetics into Polish painting and graphic arts (Kossowski 1981). The first surge came about 1901 in the wake of Feliks Jasieński's campaign of popularisation of Japanese culture and especially Japanese art. The second apex in the development of Polish Japonisme occurred around the time of the Russo-Japanese war, which aroused in the Polish nation fervent hopes for regaining independence from Russia. Before discussing these two crescendos of Polish Japonisme, I shall examine Japanese inspirations in the preceding period: 1885-1900. On the whole, this early phase yielded Japonisant art of high artistic value, deploying a wide range of East Asian artistic strategies and employing a variety of oriental iconographical borrowings. In spite of being an

introductory stage, the taste for Japanese art in this period cannot be described as merely nascent. Many works from this period demonstrate profound engagement with the Orient, whereas most of the artists discussed in this section can in fact be described as Japonistes, as opposed to artists only sporadically leaning towards Japan.

The earliest dated example of Japanese inspirations in Polish art is *Japanese Woman* (1879) by Maurycy Gottlieb (fig. 32) (Malinowski 2000, 82). Despite its title, the sitter is not Japanese. Her facial appearance points to either Southeast-Asian origin, or indeed she is an Orient-stylised European beauty. Such portraiture was common in contemporary European art; however, within Gottlieb's oeuvre it stands alone. Other isolated instances of Japanese inspirations were present in the works of Władysław Czachórski (fig. 30), and Józef Wodziński (fig. 31). Very little is known about the work of the Polish artist Andrzej Jerzy Mniszech based in Paris, but his undated, recently discovered, paintings (fig. 27-29) could well have been made before Gottlieb's *Japanese Woman*. Other early examples of Polish paintings of women in Japanese garb include works by Anna Bilińska-Bohdanowicz, Leon Wyczółkowski and Edward Okuń (fig. 81-82, 84).

Julian Fałat's Journey to East Asia and his Japonisme

Following these singular instances, it is Julian Fałat, one of Poland's foremost landscape and watercolour artists and the reformer of the Cracow Academy of Fine Arts, who opens the story of Polish Japonisme. What really directed him onto the 'Japanese path' was the period spent in Japan during his journey around the world undertaken with Edward Simmler in 1885.²⁸ A certain predisposition to perceive nature in a way akin to the Japanese treatment of it was present even prior to his trip to Japan. As we learn from his diaries written long afterwards, in 1883 Fałat went to Rajec in Lithuania, from where he brought a series of monumental depictions of pine trees fallen into Lake Świtez (Fałat 1987, 94). These realistically represented stylised trees in *Świtez* and *On Świtez Lake* (fig. 33-34) have been interpreted by Anna Król as, if not directly inspired by Japan, then as examples of Fałat's parallel attitude to nature (2009, 18-21).²⁹

²⁸ Edward Simmler (1858-1929) was a wealthy banker from a Swiss family of industrialists settled in Warsaw and known for their artistic inclinations. A notable artist from this family was Józef Simmler (1823-1868), Edward's paternal uncle, a painter of historical works and portraits.

²⁹ Although all previous studies of Fałat's painting date this series to 1888, and therefore after his trip to Japan, Król relies on the artist's own words in his memoirs (p. 94), pointing to the year of their creation as 1883 or 1884, and so before his first-hand experience of Japan.

Fałat's sojourn in East Asia and its repercussions for his painting have been studied by Jerzy Malinowski (2000). His reconstruction of the route follows the sea from Marseille, via the Suez Canal, the Gulf of Aden, Ceylon, to Singapore, Hong Kong and Japan. From Japan he returned to Poland through San Francisco, a train journey through the USA, and from New York back to Bremen. In Fałat's Museum in Bielsko-Biała there is a map of the last section of the route (fig. 35) and, more importantly for the present subject, a permission to enter Japan issued on 19 May 1885 by the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs (fig. 35). As the reason for entry, *gakujutsu kenkyū* (学术研究) (research trip to study art and science) is cited. Before he reached Japan, however, China made a strong impression on Fałat. As attested to by his own words from his diary, in Singapore he would often venture in search of picturesque motifs, such as quaint alleys, the Chinese playing cricket and tennis, and interesting Chinese characters (Fałat 1987, 116-119). Having contracted malaria, he was forced to postpone moving to Japan by four months, during which time he painted portraits of Chinese people (fig. 37-38). In Hong Kong Fałat was fascinated by its exotic scenery and life, which he described in his memoirs:

I was attracted by the Chinese streets and nooks, extremely picturesque, and the life of the Chinese, whole families of whom lived on boats. Roaming the Chinese quarter, I stumbled upon a wedding. The bride – almost a child – wearing make-up, clad in gaudy-coloured attire and golden flowers, was carried in a litter to the accompaniment of terrible music – trumpets, gongs and ratchets. The bride was followed by a long procession of family members and servants carrying the bride's dowry and two giant roast pigs decorated with flowers. Most of the clothes are dark blue, black and white, and the streets and shops are free from red and yellow colour, which are reserved for Mandarin nobles and other high ranking officials. (Fałat 1987, 125)

From Hong Kong he sailed to Yokohama aboard the French ship *Wolga* of the *Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes*. Based in Yokohama's Grand Hotel, he took a tour of the country, visiting Tokyo, Miyanoshita in the Hakone region, Lake Biwa, Kyoto and Kobe. Gleaning from his memoirs, we know that he visited the Ichibata-ji Zen temple in Shimane prefecture (Fałat 1987, 129). His reception of Japan and Japanese art was full of enthusiasm and adoration:

My admiration for Japan and the Japanese simply knows no bounds. I find explanations for all of their drawbacks; I justify their hate for Europe. Their national ideals, their devotion to their motherland and the Mikado, who is the highest symbol of that motherland; Shinto and Buddhism, the noblest among religions, permeating all the spheres of society; their sense of humour, poetry and nature; their old art, which – together with Chinese art – has no match the world over, compel me to admire and adore them. What's more, your stay in Japan is made pleasant by politeness which

you encounter just about everywhere, and which is particularly striking in common folk. Some savages may live somewhere in the remote mountains of the north, but I don't believe it. (Fałat 1987, 130)

While in Japan, Fałat made pencil sketches and watercolour paintings, which are the first genre scenes of Japanese everyday life ever created in Polish art. The watercolour *Soap Bubbles in Japan* (1885) (fig. 39), lost and today known only from a press reproduction, depicts a scene in a Japanese cemetery, another object of Fałat's Japanese fascination. In his memoirs he wrote:

Japan's cemeteries are open-air museums. The most beautiful and noblest aspect of the Japanese soul is the cult of ancestors and the on-going communion with the dead. (Fałat 1987, 133)

This genre study requires a closer look, as it presents an interesting case of multiple transcultural borrowing. This rare depiction of a Japanese cemetery in European painting (Król 2009, 39)³⁰, has been read by Malinowski, who stresses its originality not only within Polish, but also European art, as depicting a religious ritual related to the Japanese cult of ancestors (Malinowski 1985, 24-25). I would be inclined to interpret it as a rendition of a common pastime in Edo-period Japan known as *fukidama*, or 'tama blowing' – a *tama* understood as any spherical trinket. Timon Screech has shown that Japanese and Western traditions of bubble-blowing came together in revealing, and not unrelated ways (2000). Since the time of Kamo no Chōmei's *Hōjōki* (1212), the metaphorical connotation of moving water and foam consisting of bubbles has become one of the most celebrated similes in Japanese literature. It was used to denote, in accordance with Buddhist thought, the transience of life (*mujō*). By extension, this emblem of impermanence had assumed related meanings of evanescence of physical beauty, and in the milieu of Yoshiwara pleasure quarters even an implication of special powers exploited by the frequent pictorial connection with Edo sex industry. Screech's findings explain that although common in pre-Tokugawa literature, the bubble motif has no pictorial equivalent before the mid-Edo period, and is in fact a relatively recent import from the West. The practice of *fukidama* was popularised by the Dutch, who since 1673 distributed soap water from Nagasaki, and we know that the first Edo vendor of it (*shabon-uri*, *shabondama-uri*, or simply *tamaya*) appeared in 1677 (Ono & Takeo 1975, 329). Aware of its symbolic meaning in the West, that is of the fleetingness of splendour, fame and life, but opposed to the transience of God (Ono 1975, 95), which converged essentially with

³⁰ It may well be true that Król's speculation that the painting is probably the only European representation of a Japanese cemetery. To my present knowledge her assumption remains correct.

the Buddhist symbolism of bubble-blowing; Japanese artists in the late 18th century, such as Isoda Koryûsai, Suzuki Harunobu and Shiba Kôkan, all familiar with the Western pictorial tradition of blowing bubbles, appropriated the western iconography of froth and bubble-blowing and frequently employed it in their works (fig. 40-42).

Fałat must have seen some of the bubble-blowing scenes in ukiyo-e, or more likely, judging by the setting of his painting and Fałat's habit of venturing into the unknown in search of inspirational motifs, he probably witnessed an actual instance of fukidama live during his stay in Japan. Therefore, once brought to Japan by the Dutch in the 17th century, and given a popular appeal in the Japanese art of the latter Edo Period, the theme of bubble-blowing was borrowed back by Fałat in 1885. Malinowski's reference to the cult of ancestors has relevance in the connection between the Buddhist concept of temporariness of life and its obvious tangible reminder – the cemetery, but such a scene could have been also spotted elsewhere, for instance in the busy market quarter of Nihonbashi (fig. 41). In Fałat's painting the vector of the inspirational process runs from Japanese to western (Polish) art.

An analogous composition features in Kuroda Seiki's oil study for the painting *Talk on Ancient Romance (Composition II)* (1897) (fig. 43).³¹ Although none of the figures in it are engaged in propelling bubbles into the air, as it happens in Fałat's work, their positioning in relation to one another and, the presence of children combined with the fact that both scenes take place outdoors (in a cemetery and the compound of the Seikanji temple in Kyoto respectively) indicate a certain connection between them.³² Did Kuroda see Fałat's painting, already a product of double transnational cultural exchange, and used it as a source of further inspiration? Kuroda was one of the most important Japanese artists and educators of the Yôga style of painting.³³ He helped institutionalise it as a parallel canon with Nihonga while the head of the western painting section at the government-run Tokyo School of Fine Arts. He spent a decade in Paris (1883-1893), where he studied plein-air painting under the tutelage of the academic painter Raphael Collin at Académie Colarossi. He also came in contact with Hayashi Tadamasa – a Japanese art dealer engaged in the ukiyo-e market in Paris. The work in question was conceived upon visiting the Seikanji temple in Kyoto as a 'historical painting' and a 'composition', both terms being derived from the French academic tradition, the former meaning a scene gleaned from history, mythology, religion or an abstract concept from

³¹ The finished painting was lost during World War II.

³² For pointing out to me the resemblance between these two works I am grateful to Dr Yûko Kikuchi, one of the supervisors of the present work.

³³ Yôga means literally western-style painting and denotes paintings by Japanese artists that have been made in accordance with western traditional conventions, techniques and materials. It was coined in the Meiji period to distinguish such paintings from traditional Japanese paintings (Nihonga).

philosophy or the imagination, whereas the latter denoting an arrangement of figures depicted in oils on a large canvas. Kuroda's composition presents a glimpse from the tale of Kogô from Heike Monogatari, and was often used by his students as a model for their graduation works (Tanaka & Atsushi 2008).

Due to customs restrictions, Fałat was allowed to bring back from Japan only small souvenirs made of wood, ivory or porcelain, his sketches and a large collection of his photographs taken in Japan. Unfortunately this first Polish photographic documentation of Japan perished in the Warsaw Uprising in 1944 (Malinowski 2000, 80). What remains from his Japanese journey is displayed today in the Japanese Room arranged in Fałat's villa at Bystra in southern Poland. Immediately after his return to Poland Fałat began organising an exhibition of his watercolour and pencil sketches from the excursion, which was launched in Cracow and then toured 'all Polish cities' (Echa Warszawskie 1885). Beside the works already mentioned, the exhibition included a watercolour and gouache sketch and its completed work in watercolour *Aboard a Ship - Colombo, Ceylon* (1885) (fig. 44-45). It was conceived in Colombo, and so before reaching Japan and China, nonetheless, the props included evoke an air of East Asia: Chinese parasol, collapsible fan in the woman's hand and the uchiwa fans adorned with irises and Chinese calligraphy. Among the over fifty watercolours were also *Two Chinese Men Resting* (fig. 38), *A View of Singapore* and *Malayan Laundress from Singapore*. In 1888, the exhibition was revived at Aleksander Krywult Salon in Warsaw, this time enlarged by eighty additional sketches. The critics praised their ethnographic and exotically artistic value.³⁴

Having experienced Japan first-hand, after his return to Poland Fałat became alert to the presence of Japonisme in the work of other artists. Already in the closing years of the 1880s and the beginning of the following decade on the Polish artistic scene affinities with Japanese art were discernible in the work of Stanisław Dębicki, Olga Boznańska, Jan Stanisławski, Wojciech Weiss, Stanisław Wyspiański, Józef Mehoffer, Stanisław Witkiewicz, Leon Wyczółkowski, Ferdynand Ruszczyc and Władysław Ślewiński. Interestingly, all of these artists, with the exception of Witkiewicz, were invited later by Fałat to teach at the Cracow Academy of Fine Arts. Apart from his contact with Japanese art and Japan itself, he had the opportunity to become familiar with collections of East Asian art and other examples of Japonisme in Paris, Munich, Vienna, Berlin and St Petersburg.

The encounter with Japan prompted a fundamental change in Fałat's painting, a fact repeatedly emphasised by contemporary and later critics:

³⁴ These two exhibitions were unanimously and enthusiastically received (Struve 1888, Gerson 1888, Mazanowski 1888, Fański 1888).

An impressionist with a tremendous 'sense of nature', Fałat has at his disposal the unwieldy primitivism of a creative battery. He casts away the crutches and the academic rules, and has the barbarian courage, and the downright Japanese bluntness, to give unashamedly subjective documents of nature, in a confession-like manner, drawing his visions from accidental revelations of light. (Żeliński 1909, 5)

Fałat is undoubtedly one of the most prominent Japanists, who form a separate group in arts at the end of the 19th and the start of the 20th century. Synthetic simplifications of colour and drawing; expressiveness of the watercolour stain, cast hastily and nervously; a virtuoso-like mastery of brushwork, and even the exploitation of the white colour paper – so characteristic of Fałat – all of this is a very original and very autonomous use of lessons learnt from Japanese art. It is only regrettable that European manufacturers of paint and paper yield precedence to their counterparts in the land of the rising sun, those white backgrounds of paper, utilised with such mastery by Fałat to produce a colourist effect, are misleading today with a yellowish hue that they have taken on much too early. (Husarski 1927, 999-1000)

Fałat endows this (his) watercolour with light stylisation, patterned on Japanese woodblock prints (...) A certain flatness in his pictures, the rhythmical layout of stains and lines, the strive for maximum economy of means, rendition of people and animals as merely dark silhouettes on a bright background, making full of esprit, suggesting rather than depicting: all that European Impressionism owes largely to Japanese woodblock print, in Fałat's case came directly from this source as well (...) Fałat turned impressionistic watercolour, stylised slightly Japanese, into an obedient tool, with which he captured and fixed everything that presented itself to his mental system, which was so sensitive to colours and shapes; his little son, smiling at a shiny glass ball, and his own manly energetic head, a colourful crowd of country folk in front of a church on the patron saint's day and the Florian Gate in Kraków, purple at sunset; above all: the life of animals and people against a background of landscape. (Wallis 1929, 3)

He soon became the arch-master of the simplified synthetic stain, cast with bravura, inadvertently as it were, on the canvas, and still suggesting a human figure, an object of nature with wondrous plasticity. His earliest development was subsequently deepened by his travels. (...) Japanese art (...) taught European painters to appreciate quick fleeting impressions, photographic fragments of nature. It opened their eyes to the beauty of accident and asymmetry, to the charm of a layout of colours, lights, shapes...it trained them in the use of a minimum of stains and lines to attain a maximum painterly effect. And Fałat shows his complete mastery of this Japanese skilfulness, those instant economical brushstrokes, in his watercolours in particular. The native landscape evoked in him ever new, ever finer colouristic visions. (Sobieski 1929, 8)

Fałat's Japanese inspirations were the subject of the 2009 exhibition at the manggha Museum of Japanese Art and Technology in Cracow. Its curator, Anna Król identified the artist's Japonisme with his use of East Asian motifs, the deployment of Japanese compositional ploys and his attitude to nature. In a series of hunting scenes (fig. 46), painted during his nine-year stay in Berlin as the German Emperor Wilhelm II's court painter, Fałat

used a configuration of contrasting dark and light areas of paint reminiscent of the Japanese concept of *nôtan*.³⁵ He may have not known this design concept, which operates with contrasts of light and dark areas, but since it was present in much of Japanese imagery and decorative art, he might have intuitively sensed it and incorporated into his work. Following the example of Chinese and Japanese painters, Fałat stopped imitating oil painting with watercolours and became an artist creating more spontaneously. His departure from Academic art was triggered by the encounter with East Asian art, an experience, which in the words of Malinowski, made Fałat an artist 'void of intellectual inhibitions, in fact knowingly anti-intellectual' (Malinowski 2000, 82-83).³⁶

Between 1895 and 1903 Fałat created a series of views of Cracow captured from the same window of his studio at the Academy (fig. 47-54). Painted at various times of the day and year, and in sundry techniques, these cityscapes emulate *ukiyo-e* formal solutions such as elevated vantage point, objects cut off by the picture's edge and close-ups of certain elements. In some of these views the artist managed to convey the elusive ambience of the views in such a manner that they are evocative of the Zen category known as *yûgen*³⁷ – hidden essence – the unattainable ideal for many artists. Their predominantly horizontally elongated formats, as well as their large sizes resemble *byôbu* – Japanese screen paintings. However, whereas *byôbu* screens were always made in pairs, none of Fałat's views of Cracow form pairs.

Yet another type of Japanese borrowing, evident in content rather than form, and abreast with contemporary European trends are Fałat's representations of European women attired in Japanese kimonos, wearing Japanese-styled coiffures and holding Japanese fans. Only a few of such works are known today: *European Japanese Woman* (1893) extant only in the form of a photograph (fig. 56) and *Girl in a Kimono* (1910) (fig. 57).

Fałat is regarded as the earliest and one of the most ardent proponents of Japonisme in Poland. His appointment as director of the Cracow Academy of Fine Arts in 1895 had far reaching consequences for art in Poland and also for the dissemination of a taste for Japanese

³⁵ *Nôtan* 濃淡 – a Japanese design concept involving the play and placement of light and dark next to the other in art and imagery. The use of light and dark translates shape form into flat shapes on a two-dimensional surface. It is traditionally presented in paint, ink or cut paper.

³⁶ Malinowski's description of Fałat as an 'anti-intellectual' artist should be interpreted as a way of emphasising Fałat's break with the western knowledge of art making and the achievements of Academic art, in other words a break with what he had learned in the academies of Cracow and Munich. Following the encounter with Japanese art, in his approach to painting, Fałat became more reliant on his instinct as opposed to his intellect.

³⁷ *Yûgen* – 幽玄 – an important concept in traditional Japanese aesthetics, it suggests that beyond what can be said, but is not an allusion to another world.

art through art education. His dramatic reshuffle of the teaching staff altered the art educational paradigm. He invited to his departments those artists who were familiar with, and open to, contemporary European tendencies in art, one of them being Japonisme. These artists stood in opposition to Academicism and Historicism, the two pillars of the preceding paradigm at the School.

Under the Auspices of Gauguin: Władysław Ślewiński

An important artistic authority for the Polish artists visiting Paris and residing there was Władysław Ślewiński. In 1888, he settled in Paris and shortly afterwards met Gauguin either at Filippo Colarossi's or café Chez Madame Charlotte (Jaworska 2004, 7). Although he began his studies at Académie Colarossi and Académie Julian, he never finished them. Considering that he did not attend any art educational institutions in Poland before 1888, it is fair to say he was a self-taught artist. However, there was one mentor in his artistic life: Gauguin. Not only was Ślewiński a member of the Pont-Aven group and shared his life between Brittany and Paris, but also became a life-long close friend of Gauguin. Ślewiński even supported Gauguin financially at times and they shared accommodation in Bas Pouldu in 1894.

Klaus Berger's analysis grants Gauguin the greatest strategic role in the development of Japonisme (1990, 145-164).³⁸ Direct quotation and obvious reference to Japan are present in Gauguin's work, but his great contribution consists primarily in formal solutions that paved the way for Art Nouveau, Jugendstil and poster art (Berger 1980, 164). In other words, Berger emphasises Gauguin's importance for the development of Japonisme in the sense that he was more interested in the pictorial devices observed in Japanese art than in thematic and iconographical borrowings. Despite the fact that both types of Japanese inspirations had been present in the history of Japonisme before Gauguin, he indicated new paths of formal appropriations from Japanese art. His Synthetism, also adopted by Émile Bernard and other artists from the Pont-Aven group is evident in the near-monumental figurative compositions borrowed from Utamaro, Kunisada-inspired genre scenes, landscapes modelled on Hiroshige and human poses observed in shunga (Japanese erotic prints) (Mowll Mathews 2001, 103-105). In *Portrait of Władysław Ślewiński with a Bouquet of Flowers* (1891) (fig. 58) Gauguin

³⁸ Other important studies of Gauguin's Japanese inspirations include Rewald (1978) and Thirion (1956).

painted Ślewiński using many oriental devices.³⁹ Berger interprets it as a new type of portrait inspired by Japanese art:

The symbolic, as distinct from the psychological, portrait was another conception that reached Gauguin from two directions: by way of Degas and by way of Utamaro, as can be seen from a number of self-portraits and from the portrait of the painter Ślewiński (1909): the cropping of the image at the edges, the asymmetry of the structure, the break-up of spatial continuity through a simultaneous frontal and top view, and in consequence the imaginary, symbolic world in which the subject exists. (1980, 153)

If we realise Ślewiński's exposure to Gauguin's Japonisant paintings, and take into consideration his strong allegiance to his teacher in matters of art, the natural deduction is that in his paintings, we should be able to detect symptoms of Japonisme. They have certainly been acknowledged both in his day and relatively recently, but as yet no in-depth analysis of them has been carried out. In 1898, Zenon Przesmycki made a tentative link between Ślewiński's landscapes and Japanese art, writing about the Japanese-like silence pervading his panoramic compositions, which paradoxically are painted with the use of energetic line and violent tones (1898). Kossowski, in his pioneering work on Polish Japonisme includes only one work by Ślewiński, but by placing its reproduction on the catalogue's cover, he promoted it to the status of paragon example (1981). *Woman Combing Hair* (1897) (fig. 59) depicts a theme that had reached the canvases of Impressionists by way of the erotically charged Japanese genre scenes of women engaged in bathing and at their toilette. Such fetishized imagery of women at home or in the Yoshiwara pleasure quarters had been ubiquitous in ukiyo-e, but their popularity intensified after 1791, following Matsudaira Sadanobu's enforcement of separation of the sexes in public bathing venues. Timon Screech has argued that such depictions compensated for what men could no longer see freely (1999, 61-64).

Woman Combing Hair captures a single 'snapshot' in a slow motion movement, expressed with Japanese-styled sinuous line of the hair, nape, back and arms of the sitter. Its subdued colour scheme is dominated by the ochre of the coiffure, and the entire composition is synthesised by elimination of redundant detail and through the introduction of ascetic flat stains of colour delineated with a dark contour. The figure is shown from the back, and gazing into a mirror – a popular motif in Japanese woodblock.⁴⁰ The metaphor of the mirror had been

³⁹ This painting was in the Matsukata Collection until 1944, when it was sequestered by the French Government. It returned to Japan in 1959 and is today a possession of The National Museum of Western Art in Tokyo. The work has Gauguin's dedication to Ślewiński: *Au grande artiste*.

⁴⁰ The mirror is, along with the sword and jewel, one of the Three Treasures associated with the Goddess Amaterasu, and hence sacred in Shintō, as well as within the Japanese household. With time it

present throughout Japanese history, and Ślewiński must have encountered it in the ukiyo-e imagery from the Parisian collections. But the mirror reflection in Ślewiński's painting shows a male face, or at least other than the sitter's, being symbolic of the sitter's search for truth about her/his identity (Daszkiewicz 2006, 35), an allusion to the merging genders typical of Bijin-ga.⁴¹ Thus this seemingly banal scene is transformed into a mysterious record of a highly intimate moment.

Another documented Japanese-derived appropriation of Gauguin's, but also akin to folk art, was Cloisonnism – the technique of painting with bold flat forms separated by dark contours.⁴² Black contour is clearly present in Ślewiński's work (fig. 60-62), but he would never employ it to the extreme extent that Gauguin did. In fact, Ślewiński retained a slight tendency towards realistic representation of nature with the help of delicate chiaroscuro, modelling, or discrete merging of one colour into another (Jaworska 2004, 9). Nonetheless, his apparent realism is the result of simplification and generalisation, the two prerequisites for Synthetism.

Gauguin's *The Wave* (fig. 63) and *The Beach at le Pouldu* (fig. 64) were painted 'in the manner' of Hiroshige, whose art reached Gauguin through Monet and the Japanese woodblock (Berger 1980, 153). Hiroshige's approach to marine landscape filtered through to Ślewiński's works via Gauguin. We have already mentioned Przesmycki's comment on the Japanese-like silence present in Ślewiński's sea canvases. Another critic knowledgeable about Japanese art Antoni Potocki⁴³ confirmed the Japanese flavour of his seaside compositions:

I remember from the earliest of my visits to Ślewiński's quiet atelier in Notre-Dame-de-Champs, in the garden pavilion, several canvases with several ever-recurrent motifs, at which he worked long months or even years. One of these cyclical motifs was above all the sea wave, with wonderful fringes of froth, smashed against rocks amidst harmonious setting of the coastline and the horizon. The finesse of these compositions is striking, and the stylisation of the wave not without a hint of Japonisme. (1924/1925)

had assumed another connotation which became extensively exploited in ukiyo-e art: its symbolism of truth and a woman's soul, a protector of woman's virtue (Lane 1978, 303).

⁴¹ Bijin-ga 美人画 – a generic term for pictures of beautiful women, but also men especially in ukiyo-e imagery, most often showing the courtesans of the pleasure districts and male Kabuki actors playing female roles (onnagata).

⁴² The term Cloisonnism evokes the technique of cloisonné – a way of decorating metalwork objects, whereby their surface is divided into compartments by wires soldered into their bodies, and the space between them filled with powdered glass and fired.

⁴³ Antoni Potocki (1867 – 1939) a Polish writer, literature and art critic, between 1894 and 1939 he lived intermittently in Paris.

In *The Sea in Le Pouldu* (1896), *The Sea in Doëlan* (1899), *The Sea* (1904), *Lonely Rock in the Sea* (1907), *Belle-Ile Rocks* (1897) and other paintings (fig. 65-70) Ślewiński employed an ensemble of Japanese artistic resources: high viewpoint, limited colour range, depiction of elements as demarcated patterns, spatial cropping and the use of ornamental line. These works are devoid of any narrative content such as boats or people, instead the only ‘protagonists’ are: the sea, wave, rocks, and the sky. Their rhythmically ordered outlines resulting in flattened arabesques along with the features enumerated above are also characteristic of Ślewiński’s representations of the Tatra Mountains painted in Poland between 1905 and 1910. Tadeusz Dobrowolski discerned echoes of Hokusai’s views of Mt Fuji in Ślewiński’s paintings of the Tatras. The same source informs us that the artist collected Japanese woodblock prints (Dobrowolski 1963, 247).

Ślewiński’s role in the dissemination of Japonisme, or Gauguin’s brand of it, in Poland was rather significant, despite the fact that he never made specific thematic references to Japan. It went beyond providing a connection between Polish artists and the Japonisant milieu of Paris. Praised by Polish art critics, he became a respected authority for younger artists, especially Tadeusz Makowski, who stayed in Ślewiński’s house in Doëlan in 1914 and 1915; and for the Japonisant circles in Cracow, Warsaw and Lviv. Extant correspondence attests to close contacts between Ślewiński and such admirers of Japanese art as Stanisław Witkiewicz, Zenon Przesmycki, Józef Mehoffer and Antoni Potocki.⁴⁴ While still in France, he often exhibited his work in Poland, and during his five-year stay in his homeland, also lent a few of Gauguin’s works to Polish exhibitions. In 1906, Ślewiński painted the Tatra Mountains in Zakopane, where he met Jan Stanisławski, a devout Japoniste and professor of landscape painting at the Cracow Academy of Fine Arts on a plein-air visit with his students. In 1908, Ślewiński was appointed professor at the Warsaw Academy of Fine Arts, which position he gave up to open his own school of art in Warsaw in Polna Street in the same year (Jaworska 1991, 198).

⁴⁴ For a selection of letters to and from Ślewiński see: Jaworska, 1991, 139-159.

Józef Chełmoński's Landscape and Its Relation to Japanese Art

Although a representative of 19th-century realism and educated under the great realist Wojciech Gerson⁴⁵, Józef Chełmoński⁴⁶ belongs to those artists whose works bear certain affinities with Japanese art. Jasieński's opus magnum *Manggha. Promenades à travers le monde, l'art et les idées* was meant as its author's ideological manifesto, in which he extolls Japanese art and qualities, in his opinion, associated with it. Jasieński's praise of Japanese art as expressed in *Manggha* is often delivered in an oblique manner, whereby he eulogises not only particular examples of Japanese art, but, more frequently, also those western art works that, in his judgement, possess characteristics and values found in Japanese art. In other words, his strategy for an indirect and understated approval of Japan consists in searching for 'Japaneseness' in non-Japanese art.

Jasieński contrasts two types of landscape described by their varying roles of nature and beauty: the Japanese landscape, with its economy of means of expression, compositional refinement, bravura-like synthesis, ability to elicit even the least obvious features, simplicity and its strong poetic expressiveness – all of which calculated at conveying the underlying essence of nature; and the corrupted western landscape marked by theatricality, picturesque settings, monumentality, and ostentatious effects. The latter type, stemming from the Baroque and Romantic traditions, but reinforced by 19th-century Academicism, is opposed to the poetic visions of nature by Chinese landscapists, Soga Yasoku, Hokusai, Hiroshige, Kuniyoshi, French Impressionists, especially Monet, but also some Polish artists: Stanisławski, Ślewiński, and of course Chełmoński (Miodońska-Brookes & Cieśla-Korytowska 1992, 334).

When writing on Chełmoński's art in *Manggha*, Jasieński focuses mainly on *Partridges in the Snow* (1891) (fig. 71) (Miodońska-Brookes & Cieśla-Korytowska 1992, 67).

⁴⁵ In 1901 Feliks Jasieński caused a scandal when he severely criticised the recently deceased and extremely popular Wojciech Gerson in an article published in *Chimera* (*W kwestii drobnego nieporozumienia*, vol. 1, part 2). He accused Gerson's painting of mediocrity, cast doubts over his didactic achievements, and blamed him for hindering the development of art in Poland through dwarfing individuality, as a critic, in other artists. To the dismay of the public, Jasieński did not refrain from calling Gerson the general of an army of philistines and an enemy of every significant work of art. Gerson was known for his harsh critique of most new trends and tendencies in art including Impressionism and Japonisme.

⁴⁶ Józef Chełmoński began his artistic education in Warsaw under Gerson (1867-1871). Then he studied in Munich under H. Anschütz and A. Strähuber, where he associated himself with the Polish artistic colony gathered around Józef Brandt and Maksymilian Gierymski. Between 1875 and 1887 he lived in Paris. Upon return to Poland in 1887, he settled in Warsaw and two years later moved to a village in the Masovia region where he immersed himself in the Polish rural landscape, making it the prime theme in his work.

It depicts a group of realistically treated birds that had been given individual physiognomies, moving in one direction under a low heavy sky, and captured in the right half of the picture. It is not just the painting's asymmetrical composition and its reduced scale of hues or even the serenity of the plain misty expanse of the snow-covered land that may have taken cues from Japanese art. Its pronounced lyricism evokes an aura of melancholy compatible with the pantheistic worldview, an outlook through which the artist expresses his intimacy with nature. In 1902 Franz Servaes, a Berlin critic working as a cultural correspondent for the Viennese *Neue Freie Presse*, commented on this work, which was included in the exhibition of The Association of Polish Artists that year at the Vienna Secession building, tying it with contemporary animalists and Japanese graphic art (Masłowski 1965, 287). Since there is no evidence of Chełmoński's focused interest in Japanese art, though he must have encountered it during his long stay in Paris, *Partridges in the Snow* must be regarded as a meaningful analogy with it rather than a conscious instance of Japonisme. Chełmoński's lyrical landscapes with cranes, ducks, bustards and other birds evoke a similar resonance with Japanese art (fig. 72-75). Coincidental or intended, the resemblance between Chełmoński's landscapes and the pantheistic approach to nature in the art of Japan – especially considering his popularity among younger artists – had remarkable impact on Polish art, and helped to create an ambience favourable to the reception of Japanese art.

Olga Boznańska's Early Japonisme: The Cracow and Munich Years

In the light of the relatively recently discovered paintings by Olga Boznańska, a novel interpretation of her oeuvre places her among the most notable Japanising artists not only during the Polish Modernist era, and even prior to it, but also throughout the entire interwar period (Król 2006, 44). Her engagement with Japan was not ephemeral or short-lived, to the contrary, as Król has shown, the issue of Japonisme in Boznańska's work is elemental (Król 2006, 44). The chronological trajectory of Boznańska's reference to Japanese art proceeded from the predictable, but nonetheless in her case autonomous, incorporation of oriental motifs seen in the works of many contemporary artists, along a continuum of increasingly sophisticated formal adaptations (also a frequent type of inspiration), to her still lifes with a Japanese doll and flower studies from the interwar period, which are quintessentially Japanese in terms of their aesthetics and philosophical background. This section deals with the early stage in the development of Boznańska's Japonisme, whereas its later manifestations will be given attention subsequently.

The 1878 World Exhibition in Paris, which Boznańska visited as a thirteen-year-old, is likely to have been her first encounter with Japanese art which was so lavishly displayed there. In 1885, she left Cracow for Munich – one of the hubs of late 19th-century Japonisme, but a photograph of the artist with a Japanese parasol taken in her Cracow studio (fig. 76) is evidence that she had been introduced to the Japanese fashion of the day while still in Poland.⁴⁷ There are other photographic portraits of Boznańska at the National Museum in Warsaw that confirm that her will to be associated with Japan was constant throughout her long career. One of them, most likely taken already in Munich shows her dressed in a Chinese jacket and holding a Japanese parasol, a combination symptomatic of contemporary merging of these two separate categories (fig. 77). Such inconsistencies in assembling visual interpretations of the East, however, or should we rather say free indiscriminateness often resulting from lack of knowledge but at times intended as such, were present even in photographic and painterly portraits of figures who were well versed in artistic matters of East Asia like Feliks Jasieński, who was photographed wearing a woman's kimono and a helmet form a samurai's armour (fig. 230). At this early stage of Polish Japonisme, it was only a very small number of connoisseurs, collectors and critics who would have been capable of determining what was Chinese and what came from Japan, what was a female garment and what was male. To the wider public though, such knowledge on the distinctly different cultures of China and Japan, separate even if parallel, was often blended into one category.

An investigation of archival documentation relating to Boznańska, as well as her correspondence reveals no direct mention of either Japan or China (Król 2006, 41). But mounting an exhibition of Boznańska's Japanese inspirations in 2006 presented virtually no obstacles for Anna Król, because, besides photographic material, Boznańska's work displays a whole gamut of unequivocally Japanese citations and other less obvious but equally convincing references to Japan. It has been asserted that the earliest proof of the artist's interest in Japan present in her painting is *Portrait of a Young Woman with a Red Parasol* (1888) (fig. 79) (Król 2006, 48). Painted in Munich but allegedly shown also in Cracow as *Japanese Woman* at the Cracovian Society of Friends of Fine Arts in 1888⁴⁸, this work in fact postdates at least two known examples of paintings created in 1885 which some time later found their way to Jasieński's collection of art, and eventually as part of his donation to 1920

⁴⁷ It has been established that the photograph was taken in Boznańska's atelier in Cracow on the basis of the accompanying objects which feature in her paintings from the Cracow period.

⁴⁸ The only known mention of this painting being shown at the Cracow Society of Friends of Fine Arts comes from the society's report for 1888 (no. 30, p. 13), but it is too vague to conclude with certainty that it was this picture and not another similar work by Boznańska.

at the National Museum in Cracow. As will be shown later, Jasieński acquired for his collection, alongside oriental art, European works in which he saw some compelling form of adaptation from Japanese art. We do not know when Jasieński purchased *Urban Buildings II* (1885) (fig. 85) and *Landscape Motif I – Urban Buildings* (1885) (fig. 86), but we do know that they were painted before Boznańska's move to Munich, most probably from the window of her Cracow atelier at 21 Wolska Street (Król 2006, 142). If one accepts their top perspectives, muted colour schemes, the alignment of vertical, horizontal and diagonal lines, the subtle division of their pictorial space into two vertical halves (in the former case) and into layered registers (in the latter case), and a tendency towards an energetic, almost calligraphic line, as Japanese-derived innovations, then these two works could vie with those of Fałat's for the merit of being the first adoption of Japanese aesthetics into Polish art.

If the *Portrait of a Young Woman with a Red Parasol* does not open the sequence of Japanese-inspired works in the artist's oeuvre, chronologically it certainly is the first known instance of such theme in her work. Here she combined a Japanese kimono and an oriental parasol with a western hat in a composition cropped in the manner of ukiyo-e. Boznańska absorbed Japanese-origin representational strategies not only directly from Japanese art. Kossowski has pointed out that the approach to space building employed in *Portrait of a Young Woman with a Japanese Parasol* (1892) (fig. 80), where the artist managed to elicit an impression of cramped space through a cropped vision of the parasol and the multiple reflections of the outside landscape in the windowpane, may have actually reached Boznańska by way of Eduard Manet (Kossowski 1981). It was once regarded as a self-portrait, but as Król correctly noticed, the red dress and hat at the time would have been indicative of a prostitute, and therefore the work should be considered as one of the stylised Japonisant compositions set as practice tasks to female students at the Académie Julian in Paris (Król 2006, 50).

Another central figure in the history of Japonisme in Europe, and in this case also America, to whom Boznańska looked for inspiration was James Abbott McNeill Whistler. According to Król, *Japanese Woman* (1889) (fig. 88) is a variation on Whistler's *Symphony in White No. 2: The Little White Girl* (1864) (fig. 89) (2006, 52). While this is true, it appears in fact that Boznańska incorporated into *Japanese Woman* also certain elements from Whistler's earlier take on the theme: *Symphony in White No.1: The White Girl* (1862) (fig. 90). The almost abstract flatness of the picture achieved by the little-differentiated white shades of the kimono and the background, as well as the contrasting, but again flat, stain of the hair are reminiscent of the composition in the earlier of the two above-mentioned paintings by Whistler. Boznańska's version, however, disposes entirely of the symbolism of lost virginity conveyed in Whistler's work by the sitter's loose hair, dropped flowers, the

wilting lily and wolf-skin. In the choice of the subject-matter and motifs there are no indications of Japanese leanings in *Symphony in White No. 1: The White Girl*. If Boznańska's painting did take after Whistler's, she must have referenced the other of the pair too: *Symphony in White No. 2: The Little White Girl*. Although here Whistler endowed the painting with a whole set of symbolic props, Boznańska borrowed for her work only the uchiwa fan, which is positioned in both cases in a strikingly similar way. She would return to the Whistlerian 'white-on-white' ploy in *Portrait of Zofia Federowiczowa* (1890) (fig. 91) with ukiyo-e prints in the background, and in *Back from a Walk (Lady in a White Dress)* (1889) (fig. 92). Boznańska's rendition seems to go a step further in terms of being an example of Japonisme for two reasons, both related to the content of the painting. Firstly, the title of the work is more than a faint suggestion of the artist's intention to tie it with Japan, and secondly, the woman in it wears a kimono, unlike in either of Whistler's paintings.

Interestingly, the evolution of Boznańska's Japonisme appears to share an important characteristic with that of Whistler's. As Watanabe has asserted, Whistler used 'Japanese pictorial principles before he started to include Japanese objects and motifs into his paintings' (1991, 229-230), thus refuting Mark Roskill's theory that 'Japonaiserie exists as a necessary antecedent of Japonisme – leading up to the latter and in due course giving place to it' (1970). If we accept the point I have made earlier that the two urban landscapes by Boznańska from 1885 (fig. 85-86), which make use of Japanese compositional principles but are free of Japanese motifs (and therefore examples of Japonisme rather than Japonaiserie) precede her works containing Japanese iconographic borrowings, it is reasonable to conclude that the vector of Boznańska's fascination with Japanese art, like Whistler's, proceeded from Japonisme to Japonaiserie.

To substantiate the connection between Boznańska's Japonisme and that of Whistler's it is necessary to address the question of the accessibility of his paintings to her prior to the time the similarities began appearing in her work. Boznańska's earliest paintings that employ Japanese-derived pictorial devices were created in 1885. By then Whistler had painted most of the works which seem to have provided inspiration for Boznańska, but what is the evidence she actually had the opportunity of seeing them? In 1878, she visited the World Exhibition in Paris, when she could have come into contact with Whistler's work, but there is no proof of that. The first likely encounter must have occurred during her stay in Munich (1885-1898), during which period Whistler exhibited there at Third International Knut Ausstellung in 1888 and 1892. Apart from that, while in Munich Boznańska travelled several times to Paris, where in 1887 Whistler's paintings were on display at the Exposition Internationale de Peinture at the Galerie Georges Petit. In addition, Whistler's etchings made in Venice in 1880, and those he made in London thereafter were available in Munich.

Although we know next to nothing about the particulars of her encounters with particular paintings by Whistler, we do know that she not only knew them but also that she valued them highly (Rostworowska 2005, 61-63). Her work from the Munich period was often compared by critics to Carrière's paintings, a connection which she categorically denied despite the high regard for his work. When comparisons with Whistler's works were made, however, they elicited a distinctly different reaction in Boznańska:

Some other Polish critic, whose name I will not mention, names Whistler as my professor. It is undeniable that there are parallels of content, technique and composition between his and mine works, but these should not be interpreted in terms of a direct relationship. (Samlicki 1925-1926, 109-110)

This statement by the artist confirms that she knew Whistler's work, and that she even admitted, albeit only tentatively, that there was an affinity between these two oeuvres.

The cusp of the 1880s and 1890s was a period in Boznańska's career particularly prolific in a variety of original interpretations of Japanese aesthetics and themes. In a series of paintings in the vein of the Dutch tradition of depictions of an artist's study she declares her adherence as an artist to the Japanese fashion of the day by including the 'Japanese corner' in the representations of her own atelier. In *In the Study* (1890) (fig. 94) the Japanese part of Boznańska's study is well emphasised by the light coming through the window. In it we see a red Japanese parasol and a fan. While here the presence of the Japanese section of the study is important but not central to the composition, it is another canvas with the same title that makes it its central subject (fig. 95). Although Boznańska's brushwork allows the recognition of the individual components of the ensemble as Japanese, it denies a precise identification of the woodblock prints present in it. In fact there is no documentary material capable of determining what ukiyo-e prints she owned.

The vast, but partly covered, window in the larger painting, through which a panorama of Munich is visible, is a pictorial device used by the artist frequently in this period. This tendency to juxtapose indoor scenes and outdoor landscapes within images that are inscribed into composite formats was also common in ukiyo-e imagery. In addition, such a device enhanced the depth of a picture and facilitates conveying the relation between man and nature. It was not only a trait of Japanese art but also a major Romantic pictorial device in Germany, and in particular in the oeuvre of Caspar David Friedrich. This motif was employed as a pivotal feature in *Florists* (1889) (fig. 98), *Brittany Girl* (1890) (fig. 99), and *Brittany Girl* (1889) (fig. 100). Just as Boznańska identified herself with Japonisme by placing its manifestations in the paintings of her study, she also created portraits of others accentuated with Japanese objects of all kinds to mark her sitters' affiliation with the fashion of the time.

Portrait of Zofia Federowiczowa shows a known charity activist from Cracow, but it is Boznańska's Munich studio that provided a setting for it.⁴⁹ Conceived in a similar manner is the portrait of Boznańska's friend – the Munich painter Paul Nauen (fig. 102). At first glance it is the lacquered tray and Chinese cup that are the carriers of its Japonisme, but a subtler yet firmer pointer to Japanese art is the silhouette-like rendition of the sitter's figure: a flat mass of black sharply differentiated from the greyish background. It has been pointed out that the painting bears similarities with Manet's work, but not found at the time in Munich (Blum 1974, 16).

The next phase in the evolution of Boznańska's portraiture, a phase again stimulated by Japanese art, was the psychological portrait most typical of her work in the first decade of the 20th century, but initiated with a tour de force of Polish Modernism – *Chrysanthemum* (A Girl with Chrysanthemums) (1894) (fig. 101). Not only does it resemble Whistler's late paintings of young girls, but has an affinity with the prose of Maurice Maeterlinck. Jerzy Malinowski suggested Japan as another source of its inspiration (2003, 326-327). His argument revolved around the eponymous motif of the chrysanthemum as the symbol of Japanese monarchy and the imperial throne, a token of happiness and longevity, as well as a frequent attribute in ukiyo-e representations of women. Scholars' opinions as to the Japanese content of this work vary: at one end of the scale Anna Król is somewhat sceptical in accepting Malinowski's opinion (2006, 60), whereas, at the other, Piotr Kopszak sees this painting as 'Boznańska's most Japanese work in spirit' (2006, 18).⁵⁰ As said earlier, Boznańska's Japonisme was a life-long affair, and subsequent stages in its progression will be discussed in further chapters.

From Paris and Vienna to Cracow: Wojciech Weiss's First Responses to Japanese Art 1897-1900

With regards to Weiss, naturally, Japanese painting has already been mentioned – and rightly so... That Cracow Japoniste, with his acute powers of observation and elegant brushstroke, is bound to have been familiar with the Paris Japonistes as well, the

⁴⁹ In this painting, Boznańska built the pictorial space in an interesting and strange manner, not unlike that found in early Whistler paintings as for example *The Music Room* (1861). For this observation I am grateful to Professor Toshio Watanabe (personal communication).

⁵⁰ While in the traditions of China, Japan and Korea, to which areas the chrysanthemum is endemic, its connotations always carried auspicious meanings, in Poland where it grows in the wild only in the Pieniny Mountains, on the one hand it is the symbol of autumn, but on the other it has assumed connotations of death and mourning. Therefore, being an important element in Polish iconography already at the time of the painting's creation, the Japanese derivation of it is unlikely.

whole thing is that he uses these influences to his advantage where others are disadvantaged by them and fall into the trap of mannerism. (Potocki 1904, 184)

The epithet 'Cracow Japoniste' ascribed by the critic Antoni Potocki to Wojciech Weiss was as appropriate in 1904 as it proved to be throughout the artist's long and extremely prolific career. The 2008 exhibition at manggha Museum of Japanese Art and Technology in Cracow perpetuated his image as the Japoniste within the milieu of Polish art (Król 2008). Although Malinowski acknowledges the profundity and diversity of Weiss's Japonisme, in his view, this title belongs to Julian Fałat (Jerzy Malinowski, personal communication). In this passage of the thesis I shall review the first but highly significant phase in the development of Weiss's Japonisme, one that followed, and to a certain extent was triggered by, his trip to Paris in 1897. Prior to that, however, his interest in Japanese art must have been ignited during his studies at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts, where he attended evening drawing classes from 1891 to 1892, and was officially enrolled in 1892, joining Leon Wyczółkowski's class in 1896. It was Wyczółkowski, already drawing on Japanese art in his painting who passed the bug of Japonisme to the young Weiss. Besides, Weiss's experience of Japanese art was enriched during those years by seeing the works of the Academy's professors Stanisław Wyspiański and Jan Stanisławski (Weiss 2008, 38-39), both of whom incorporated elements of Japanese aesthetics into their works, though as we shall see later, the former strived to circumvent being classed as a follower of the Japanese fashion.

If Weiss's Cracovian encounter with Japanese art proved contagious for him and his art, his journey to Paris in 1897 was a true revelation in this respect. There he had the chance to get acquainted with the famous collection of Japanese art amassed by the Goncourt brothers and displayed for sale at the time at Hôtel Drouot. Renata Weiss (the artist's granddaughter) speculates that during that trip he must have also visited Siegfried Bing's shop with its Galerie de l'Art Nouveau showing Japanese woodblock prints, as well as works by the Nabis, Eugène Carrière, Mary Cassatt, Walter Crane, Emile Gallé and René Lalique, but she notes with certainty the fact that during the next extended trip to Paris between 1899 and 1900 Weiss saw the Japanese display at the Exposition Universelle in 1900 (Renata Weiss, personal communication).⁵¹⁵² Apart from ukiyo-e prints, already familiar to Weiss, he saw the

⁵¹ Renata Weiss's certainty that Weiss visited the exhibition is based on the fact that he contributed works to the exhibition at the Austrian Pavilion, among them the painting *Portrait of Parents* (1899).

⁵² Although there is no evidence that by 1900 Weiss came into contact with any Kōrin paintings, he must have seen their reproductions in *Le Japon artistique*, of which full collection was available in Feliks Jasieński's library. In addition, the artist himself owned individual copies of it, as did the library at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts.

retrospective exhibition of Japanese art from the period between the 7th and 18th centuries organised by Hayashi Tadamasa, which included classical Japanese painting and emphasised its connection with the art of China. In addition, he visited the copy of Prince Shôtoku's 6th-century shrine built in Trocadéro Gardens, Bing's Pavilion d'Art Nouveau, the comprehensive exhibition of several hundred Japanese art pieces at the Grand Palais, as well as the Exposition de maîtres japonais at the École des Beaux-Arts including 265 kakemono from the collection of Arthur Huc. Even the journey back from Paris to Cracow allowed for additional encounter with Japanese art (Weiss 2008, 40). In Vienna, Weiss saw the exhibition of 700 pieces of Japanese art from the collection of Koloman Moser displayed as part of the Sixth Secession Exhibition. The short period under consideration here starts and ends with Weiss's two sojourns in the then capital of European Japonisme – Paris.

Among the truly many facets of Weiss's Japanese inspiration one appears to be unusual in the context of Polish art and perhaps without a parallel elsewhere.⁵³ It is a group of railway landscapes executed in sundry techniques and marked by diagonally parallel compositions, begun in 1897 (and therefore just after Weiss went to Paris for the first time) and continued through to 1903 (fig. 103, 105, 107-108).⁵⁴ Renata Weiss considers them to be a direct result of the artist's admiration for ukiyo-e prints, which he purchased in Paris and multiplied subsequently.⁵⁵ She traces them to the depictions of the urban scenes of Edo, especially Hiroshige's prints. Weiss owned at least two Japanese prints where the diagonal parallelism of Japanese architecture appears to be the very subject and is given central position within the compositions (fig. 104, 106). Their preoccupation with diagonal parallel lines, however, is rooted much deeper in the history of Japanese art. In fact, its origin lies in classical Japanese painting (yamato-e) inspired by Chinese Tang dynasty painting and established in Japan in the Heian Period (794-1185). Its foremost purpose was narrating stories in images accompanied with text. This was done on hanging scrolls (kakemono) or handscrolls (emakimono), for which the device of horizontal spatial layout was most adequate. The lines of this parallel perspective never meet, in contrast with the tenets of post-

⁵³ Renata Weiss contends that Claude Monet's railway landscape series *The Saint-Lazare Station* (1877) is analogous to Weiss's railway depictions only in terms of the subject, but that Monet's focus lies with an exercise in optical illusion, the Impressionist preoccupation with the changeability of perception dependent on the circumstances the subject is being viewed in. Although the existence of Monet's Japonisme has been asserted, this series of twelve representations of the Parisian station does not fall into the category of Monet's Japonisant paintings, and in any case cannot be interpreted as a translation of the parallel perspective from ukiyo-e or yamato-e imagery.

⁵⁴ These railway landscapes depict the surroundings of two railway stations in Cracow: Płaszów and Strzyżów.

⁵⁵ More attention will be given to Weiss's collection of Japanese woodblocks in the section on Japanese art collections.

Renaissance European painting, where the horizon line is the natural point of their convergence. In most of Weiss's railway impressions, the lateral lines of the train tracks run equidistantly into infinity, demanding from the beholder to complete the fragmentary snapshot of the landscape. These Modernist takes on the urban milieu are dominated by industrial concerns from the point of view of their subject matter, but their form was inspired by the parallel linearity found in Japanese art as early as the Middle Ages.

Japanese motif does appear occasionally in Weiss's painting, albeit relatively rarely, but his Japonisme is launched with formal adaptations from Japanese art, which repudiates again Roskill's theory that Japonaiserie is a necessary prerequisite for a more profound appropriation of Japanese art. The manner in which Weiss structures his pictorial space owes a great deal to ukiyo-e. His early landscapes make a clear cut with the academic conventions of painterly composition. *Schoolgirls at Planty* (fig. 110) and *Schoolgirls in the Podzamcze* (fig. 109), both from 1897, exemplify well this departure. Their flatly conceived picture planes entirely ignore modelling derived from Leonardo's sfumato and scrupulously observed until the late 19th century. The flat stains of colour delineated with dark contours, creating geometrically divided pictures, are direct paraphrases of the simplified treatment of space gleaned from ukiyo-e. The same source imparted a system of interrelated horizontals, verticals and diagonals, which form the frame of the geometry of these nearly abstract compositions. Pictorial depth is also attained through methods borrowed from Japan but foreign to academic European tradition. Whereas *Schoolgirls in the Podzamcze* disposes of tangible illusion of depth and western perspective, resulting in a poster-like quality of the image, the other painting – also ruled by a shallow perspective – is endowed with a feature capable of conveying an impression of visual progression, namely a magnified fragment of a tree-trunk placed in the foreground and partially obscuring the otherwise rather two-dimensional picture. The schematic simplification in these fragmentary urban landscapes is achieved by the silhouetted rhythmical repetition of the human figure. Having observed the absence of redundant detail facilitating contemplative concentration, Renata Weiss discerns in these 'aesthetically saturated' works the typically Japanese quiet elegance encapsulated in the Japanese aesthetic concept of *sabi* (2008, 54). In her view, aesthetically, this approach to painting shares many characteristics with pictures by the Nabis and the Viennese Secession, movements that were also indebted to Japanese art.

Another structural idea akin to Japan and present in Weiss's early work is the stacking of horizontal bands of colour stains often balanced by less expressive verticals, which enhances its decorativeness (fig. 111-112). Apart from the mentioned truncated objects, Weiss makes use of other means of expressing visual progression borrowed from Japan – grilles, or the crating effect. *St. Anne's Church* (1900) (fig. 115) and *Pond; study for*

the painting: *Deep Water* (1899) (fig. 116) provide good examples of this method. As seen in the second example, the otherwise flat image is criss-crossed with branches and twigs leaning over the pond; the superimposition produces an effect of depth commonly observed in ukiyo-e. One of such paintings – *Shoal* (1902) (fig. 113), albeit slightly later than the period under consideration, with its delicate spring landscape accented with birds resting on the diagonally inclined willow branch and reflections of the sun in the river shoal, is evocative of the sophisticated elegance of Ogata Kôrin's screen paintings⁵⁶ (fig. 114) (Weiss 2008, 76).

Besides the innovations in structuring the pictorial space, Weiss also assimilated an assortment of Japanese approaches to the representation of the human figure. His nudes painted before 1900 break away from the conventionalism of pose and gesture typical of Academic painting. Rather than posing for an audience, they are caught off-guard. Familiar with both Hokusai's *Manga* and the works by Edgar Degas from the late 1870s⁵⁷, in which Degas draws on Hokusai's stenographic depiction of figures in motion, Weiss creates images of female nudes during their daily toilette: *Nude* (1897) (fig. 119), dancers: *Cancan at the Moulin Rouge* (1900) (fig. 121) and portraits of children *Saddened* (1898) (fig. 120). These quick notations of momentary impressions result in photograph-like images. The Japanese silhouetted figure, a favoured pictorial device in the works by such Japonisant artists as Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec or Aubrey Beardsley, become a frequent solution for Weiss: *Self-portrait* (1897) (fig. 117). Under the impression of ukiyo-e Weiss often introduces vibrant colour schemes to his figural compositions. *Portrait of Rôza Schleichkorn* (1897) (fig. 83) is a good example of Weiss's use of sharp, almost discordant, colour combinations from the early period. The sitter's dress, resembling a kimono, is painted with broad impromptu brushstrokes – a technique adopted by the French Impressionists from Japanese art.⁵⁸

Above all, however, what filtered through to Weiss's work from the orbit of Japanese art was the understanding of the natural world as a source of philosophical and spiritual

⁵⁶ Ogata Kôrin (1658-1716) – Japanese painter and lacquerer of the Rimpa School. Educated with the Kanô School and inspired by Hon'ami Kôetsu and Tawaraya Sôtatsu, finally broke away with all tradition and developed his own distinctive style marked by a bold impressionism, achieved by few simple and highly stylised forms, and a total disregard for realism and tradition.

⁵⁷ The Japanese gestural and postural stereotypes were constantly reinforced in the ukiyo-e tradition, and even rigidly codified in Hokusai's *Manga* (vol. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 9, 11, 12, 13 and 14). Klaus Berger points to Hokusai as Degas' main Japanese source of inspiration and suggests that he had access to the Rouart collection of Japanese art (Berger 1980, 49). He also claims that it is Degas' ballet scenes and his studio nudes that are among the best manifestations of the artist's Japonisme (Berger 1980, 58). Many of the unprecedented postures of dancers and women at the toilette, such as for example those in *Dancers with double-bass* (1887) and *Dancer tying he ribbons* (1880) have been traced to figures from Hokusai's *Manga* (Wichmann 1980, 32).

⁵⁸ This spontaneous manner of applying paint to canvas was known as *de prime saut* ('spontaneous reaction' or 'the first impulse').

insight. Between 1897 and 1900, Weiss painted numerous works that attest to his preoccupation with nature. In *Evening* (1900) (fig. 118), the artist created an eerie scene marked by reduced range of subdued cool hues and an economy of artistic means. The boughs of the decentralised trees form a shape that is reminiscent of the Japanese bokuseki⁵⁹ calligraphy of the Zenga style. This painting has been interpreted by Renata Weiss as a reflection of Modernist metaphysical anxieties converging with the Buddhist pathos of transience of all phenomena (Weiss 2008, 82). Weiss interprets this eerie vision with solitary trees placed off-centre and symbolic of emptiness, as a ‘transposition of the evacuated landscapes painted by Buddhist monks, who confined their artistic expression to the most indispensable elements, serving as symbolic signs of certain notions (2008, 82). Weiss’s profound respect for any aspect of nature is manifested in his studies of plants and animals (fig. 127-143).

Weiss’s ‘portraits’ of plants emanate realism, but it is the kind of realism Mitsuoki recommended, rather than the traditional European veristic approach to representation typical of academic art. At first glance his lilies, thistles, tomatoes, mallows, roses and cucumbers appear to be ‘photographically’ faithful depictions, yet upon a closer inspection the beholder realises the high degree of schematisation and the artist’s selective choice of detail. Weiss ennobles flora and fauna, investing his subjects with a spirit. His reference to Japan is also evident in the choice of species popular in Japanese art. In what could be seen as the artist’s interpretation of *kachô-ga*, one finds irises reminiscent of Rimpa school and equally common in *ukiyo-e*, peonies – ‘the flower-queen of China’ and a favourite of the upper classes in Japan (Conder 2004, 48), and plum trees in blossom – a Japanese symbol of longevity (fig. 133). This is not to say that there had been no precedents for this type in the West, but it appears that as a result of the fashion for Japan in the late 19th century, one observes a resurgence of this genre. In any case, such representations became much more current in Poland and in particular in Weiss’s case, where Japan was proxy not only to the idea but also to the form.

East Asian calligraphy and ink painting, which reached Europe in the form of Chinese scrolls and Japanese albums containing the works of various artists, offered another enticing model for Weiss to channel into his painting (fig. 136-146). Following the example of

⁵⁹ Bokuseki – (墨跡) is characterized by bold, assertive and often abstract brush strokes meant to demonstrate the calligrapher’s pure state of mind. The aim in making Bokuseki is to represent one’s single-moment awareness by brushing each word or passage with a single breath, ultimately realizing Zen and manifesting one’s Zen practice into physical and artistic action. Fundamentally bokuseki is a reflection of one’s spontaneous action.

Japanese Zen Masters' suibokuga⁶⁰, he created works in watercolour and ink, which are again in line with Tosa Mitsuoki's principle of priority given to expressing the subject's soul, rather than simply reproducing the appearance of the subject. Such expressionistic works were intended to convey more than what is visible to the eye. Thus instead of meticulous reproducing of a flower's components with botanical precision, it was essential to convey its liveliness and fragrance. The deliberate elimination of other colours was justified as follows:

The use of colour can be brilliant, but it inevitably limits the suggestive range: when a flower is painted red, it can be no other colour, but the black outline of a flower on white paper will let us imagine whatever colour we choose. (Keene 1969)

However, the reduction of the colour range to a scale of blacks, greys and whites in Weiss's monochromes is combined with a sense of balanced distribution of these stains. Although before 1900 Weiss most probably had no knowledge of the Japanese design concept of *nôtan*, he applied instinctively this universal compositional principle present in other artistic traditions – often folk art – as for example the Polish art of paper cut-outs known as *wycinanki*. Alongside other types of Japanese art, it was the *sumi-e* that spurred the American artist and art educator Arthur Wesley Dow to develop a system of principles (line, *nôtan* and colour) and applied it to art pedagogy as a means of 'designing' pictures. This is what Dow wrote about *sumi-e*:

The painter...put upon the paper the fewest possible lines and tones; just enough to cause form, texture and effect to be felt. Every brush-touch must be full-charged with meaning, and useless detail eliminated. Put together all the good points in such a method, and you have the qualities of the highest art. (1899)

Woman on the Riverbank (1898) (fig. 144), although executed in watercolours, is in fact a skilful compilation of such reduced conventional signs and its succinct form mirrors *suibokuga*. Weiss would return to the monochrome Japanese-inspired method in later periods of his creativity achieving pleasing harmonies of the brushstroke, ink and the whiteness of the paper. Cloister in the Mist (1913) (fig. 143), An Apple Tree in Winter (1910) (fig. 146), and many other landscapes are good examples and bear an affinity with East Asian calligraphy.

The summer of 1899 Weiss spent in the Tatra Mountains, about a hundred miles south of Cracow, in the company of his mentor and teacher from the Cracow Academy of Fine Arts – Leon Wyczółkowski. From this plein-air outing he brought over twenty small-

⁶⁰ Suibokuga – Japanese wash and ink painting, also known as *sumi-e*. It uses only black ink in various degrees of concentration, and therefore shares its medium with that of East Asian calligraphy. It originated in China and was introduced to Japan by Korean missionaries in the mid-14th century.

size pastel views of the mountains (fig.147-149), which – as noted by Anna Król – inaugurate a new Japanese-inspired approach to painting the vastness of mountainous vistas in Polish art (Weiss 2008, 171-172). Król pointed out correctly that their pioneering status has never been acknowledged for three reasons. Firstly, they were never exhibited during the artist's life, although seen by many other artists; secondly, they were eclipsed by Wyczółkowski's works on the same subject painted several years later and winning universal acclaim; and finally, because they were overshadowed by other works by Weiss himself. Their novelty in the orbit of Polish art consisted in the Japanese-derived method of capturing large expanses of landscapes in fragmentary cadres and in small formats. Known as *pars pro toto*⁶¹, this type of synecdoche was made popular in Polish art by Wyczółkowski's representations of the Tatras from the first decade of the 20th century, and from then on remained a common form of abridged symbol employed by many. Unorthodox vantage points, the flatness of the stain, close-ups, the use of the significant void and simplifications approaching the abstract – all this is typical of the Japanese prints from Weiss's collection, but his choice of the small format was instigated by, apart from ukiyo-e, the work of Jan Stanisławski, whose painting Weiss was very familiar with.

In 1900, Weiss painted a self-portrait that has been read as a manifesto of his aesthetic attitude and artistic preferences: *Self-portrait with Masks* (fig. 151). Here his artistic credo is summarised both in terms of content and form. The artist's silhouette is placed against the flat background divided horizontally into bands of colour. One of the masks held by the sitter is positioned in a strikingly similar way to the Nô mask in a *surimono*⁶² print owned by Weiss: *Mask for Female Roles* (fig. 152). In addition, one finds Japanese prints attached to the wall of the interior. Created at the end of the first phase of Weiss's Japonisme, this statement emphasises Weiss's affinity with Japan and is comparable to such works as Vincent van Gogh's *Portrait of Père Tanguy* (fig. 495). Weiss's fascination with the highly expressive appearance of the human face, exemplified by Japanese masks, but also present in the depictions of kabuki actors' make-up (*keshô*), is reflected in *Demon* (1900) (fig. 150).

⁶¹ *Pars pro toto* - is Latin for (taking) a part for the whole, where a portion of an object or concept represents the entire object or concept.

⁶² *Surimono* – (lit. 'printed thing'), a genre of Japanese woodblock print privately commissioned usually by members of poetry societies and Kabuki actors for special occasions such as the New Year.

The Landscape Paves the Way: Appropriations of Japan in Landscape Painting Before 1900

In the closing decades of the 19th century, in particular during the 1890s, a new type of Polish landscape painting emerged. It crystallised under the dominant sway of Western European tendencies in art, one of them being Japonisme, and to a lesser extent in response to Japanese art itself. Because most of the artists responsible for launching and promoting it continued to use Japanese art as an inspirational source in later periods, and because many of them were invited by Julian Fałat to teach at the newly reformed School of Fine Arts in Cracow, their later Japonisme and their roles as disseminators of the taste for Japanese art and aesthetics through art pedagogy will be addressed in subsequent chapters. What follows here, however, will broach the issue of the relationship between Japanese art and the genre of landscape painting during the first decade of Polish Modernism. It should be noted that this category proved to be not only by far the most popular at the time, but also highly indicative of the art of Polish Modernism in general. In Poland, it was the landscape painting that became the ideal vehicle for fin-de-siècle ideologies. The influx of Japanese elements into this genre at this early phase of Polish Modernism was of utmost importance for later developments in Polish Japonisme.

It has already been established that the landscape dominated the oeuvres of Witkiewicz, Ślewiński and Chełmoński, while in the cases of Weiss and Boznańska it occupied important positions on par with certain other genres. We have also seen that all these artists relied in varying ways and degrees on Japanese prototypes. The list of Polish Modernist landscapists reliant on Japanese sources and active before 1900 can be extended to include also Stanisław Wyspiański (fig. 154-163), Jan Stanisławski (fig. 186-195), Ferdynand Ruszczyc (fig. 198-214), Józef Mehoffer (fig. 182-184), Stanisław Dębicki (fig. 196-197), Roman Kochanowski (fig. 217, 219), Jacek Malczewski (fig. 215-216, 218) and Edward Okuń (fig. 220-221).

Certain artists, such as Wyspiański, eschewed associations between their work and Japan, especially at this earliest stage of Japonisme in Poland. Stanisław Wyspiański distanced himself and his art from the contemporary craze for oriental models, but the reason for his dissociation was the sheer popularity of Japonisme he had seen in Paris, one that he understood as a mere fad that would pass, and, above all, one that was followed indiscriminately by artists whose works were thus, in his view, deprived of originality and individuality. In 1897, in a letter to his friend Lucjan Rydel, Wyspiański made the following declaration:

I do not visit those Japanese and Chinese museums at all and shall never visit them because these are things chased by other painters, who need to imitate fashion and who are unable to propose new things. (Płoszewski & Rydlowa 1971, 421)

Wyspiański was not alone in expressing his phobia of being classed as a Japoniste, similar statements about Japanese and Japonisant art on the Polish artistic scene were voiced by Józef Mehoffer. Despite such paranoiac reservations, when confronted with Wyspiański's oeuvre, one is struck by a plethora of characteristics that resonate with Japanese art. His portraits (fig. 153, 178-181), monumental polychrome decorations (fig. 165-166), floral studies (fig. 167-174, 177) stained glass, furniture and applied arts design – are all infused with a Japanese-derived aesthetic.

This Japonisant aesthetical vocabulary is most pronounced in Wyspiański's landscapes. They are unfailingly asymmetrical compositions, frequently endowed with diagonal layouts, active use of the void, picturesque silhouettes, frozen momentary cadres, flat stains of colour delineated with dark contours and heretofore unusual colour contrasts in Polish art. However, above all, what brings his work close to Japanese art is the fluid pulsating calligraphic line, typical of much of East Asian art, but also present in Japonisant paintings by Vincent van Gogh. Consistent with Wyspiański's avoidance of being classed as an artist inspired by Japan is the absence of overt reference to Japan expressed through content rather than form. Looking for Japanese objects in his work would be in vain, and it was only later, at the time of the Russo-Japanese war of 1904 – 1905 that, at the instigation of Feliks Jasieński, Wyspiański would take up a recognisably Japanese theme in his views of the Kościuszko Mound.⁶³ Because he was one of the most outstanding and popular artists and playwrights of Polish Modernism, in fact often referred to as the Fourth Bard, preoccupied with the Polish folk tradition and the Romantic history of the Polish struggle for independence, and a disciple of Jan Matejko, most critics were reluctant to acknowledge any entirely foreign stimuli in his work. Nonetheless, some, like Wincenty Trojanowski dared point out Wyspiański's unarticulated debt to Japan:

He could not avoid the influence of Japanese woodblock prints and paintings, no matter how decidedly (and we know this from his letter) he denied it. The colour contrasts used by the Japanese, the distribution of hues in broad stains, the avoidance of halftones, the layout of the masses in a composition, the drawing of trees with anxiously bent branches – all this found a kindred quality in Wyspiański's talent because all of it is very decorative. Which is why all this found its way in Wyspiański's landscapes. (1911)

⁶³ This aspect of Wyspiański's Japonisme will be considered in the subchapter on the Russo-Japanese war.

The indirect impact of Japan through Western European painting was, of course, an important factor for the development of Polish Modernist landscape painting and also in the case of graphic arts. We have already seen how Gauguin's Japanese-inspired landscape reached Poland via Władysław Ślewiński's painting. Its later reverberations were evident in the oeuvres of many Polish artists, including Tadeusz Makowski and Stanisław Igancy Witkiewicz. Stylistic parallels can be also drawn between Weiss's and Whistler's depictions of bridges. As we shall later see, Feliks Jasiński's graphic landscapes from around 1900 were examples of indirect Japonisme nourished on Vallotton's art, but these did not have any larger impact on Polish fin-de-siècle art as they did not reach Poland until the second decade of the 20th century. Even less, or indeed no significance at all had the Japonisme Vincent van Gogh's landscapes, simply because they were not available at the time in Poland, and to a much smaller degree in Western Europe. In fact, of all the genres that were responsive to the example of Japanese art in Poland, it was the landscape that was the first to look for inspiration directly to Japanese sources. Among Polish landscape artists who used Japanese art as a direct point of departure in the closing decades of the 19th century were Fałat, Ruszczyc, and Stanisławski.

Landscape as an autonomous genre appeared in Polish art, like elsewhere in Europe, in the last decades of the 19th century. Besides Józef Chełmoński, the most prominent proponent of it in Polish Modernism was Jan Stanisławski. He was an admirer of Japanese art and its aesthetic permeated into his art. His artistic worldview was shaped by his decade-long stay in Paris (1885-1895), where he made close friends with Chełmoński. There he had the chance to get to know both French Impressionist art and Japanese art. We know that he collected Japanese art (ukiyo-e and utilitarian artefacts), but no precise information concerning his collection is available, besides the fact that a part of it came from Jasieński and other pieces were purchased in Paris and Vienna. In 1898 Jan Zakrzewski acknowledged the existence of a Japanese element in Stanisławski's painting (1898, 190). More importantly, however, it was Feliks Jasieński, who argued for the greatness of his painting by pointing to the Japanese character of his work and its profound affinity to the philosophy, aesthetics and art of the Orient (Król 2007, 11). When enumerating in his *Manggha* the lovers of Japanese culture in Cracow, Jasieński mentions Stanisławski's name as first (Miodońska-Brookes & Cieśla-Korytowska 1992, 334). In 2007, Stanisławski's Japonisme was the subject of an exhibition at the manggha Museum in Cracow (Król 2007). Its curator Anna Król concluded that the artist's Japonisme 'primarily boils down to the understanding of the sense of art (painting) and perception of nature', basing it on the similarity with the theories of Tosa Mitsuoki (Król 2007, 10):

Until the picture conveys the spirit of the object, it will not have the divine element in it, and consequently it will be like a temple without a god. No common artist can breathe spirit into his work; but if a disciple does not try to work with this goal always in his mind – how will he manage to endow his art with expression? This is true for all pictures. It would make no sense to discuss painting principles if painting were to be mere duplication of shapes. The ultimate goal of painting is to show the spirit of the object. (Wikoszewska 2005, 160)

Because there exists no evidence for Stanisławski's familiarity with the writings of Tosa Mitsuoki, Król's observation concerning the parallels between Stanisławski's painting and Tosa Mitsuoki's art theories can be treated only as an instance of convergence or coincidental similarity in approaches to art. Król's claim that Stanisławski's emphasis on conveying the inherent spirit of the represented object is derived from the theories of Tosa Mitsuoki is a simplification. Although it is true that this principle was of paramount importance in the writings of Tosa Mitsuoki, it is in fact a fundamental East Asian artistic tenet underlying more than one aesthetical system in the Orient. Within Japan, among other artistic approaches, it was the literati movement indebted to the Southern Chinese School of painting and known as Nanga that espoused the notion of the superiority of expressing the rhythm of nature and the inherent essence of the subject over its realistic representation of it. The literati painters rejected both the Kanô and Tosa outlooks on art making, consequently moving away from traditionally Japanese methods, but their preference of a more impressionistic approach to painting centred on evoking the essence of depicted objects, articulated for example in the writings by Nakabayashi Chikutô, remained a feature the literati shared with other East Asian art theoretical systems, including Tosa Mitsuoki's formulations. If Stanisławski's art practice depended in this respect consciously on Japanese models, it is more likely that he looked up to the literati tradition, which was introduced to Poland through the writings of Ernest Fenollosa, rather than to the theories of Tosa Mitsuoki, whose works reached Poland considerably later.

Nonetheless, Stanisławski's reliance on conveying the inherent nature of his subjects may have had its origin in Japanese art, but if it was the case, he must have extracted this approach intuitively as a result of contact with Japanese art rather than in response to theoretic formulae. The earliest examples of this approach to depicting nature in Stanisławski's art come from the mid-1880s: *An Old Wall* (fig. 186), and *Thistles* (fig. 187). Stylised portraits of various species of plants continue to appear in his work throughout his Parisian period, although most were actually conceived during his frequent sojourns in the Ukraine: *Blossoming Poppies* (fig. 188), *Mullein* (fig. 189), and *Thistles* (fig. 190). His Japonisme is also discernible in landscape capturing transitory phases of the year and the day: *Early Spring* (fig. 193). A good example of his Japonisant views of trees is the repeatedly painted motif of

poplars at the water's edge (fig. 191-192) inspired by numerous Japanese images of wind-bent trees, epitomised by Hiroshige's *Sudden Rain at Shono* (fig. 194). Most paintings by Stanisławski are contained in small formats, a feature they share with ukiyo-e prints.⁶⁴

In discussions of Polish Modernist landscape painting, especially in the context of Japanese borrowings, the figure of Ferdynand Ruszczyc cannot be omitted. Native to the city of Vilnius in the Lithuanian part of former Poland, he was often referred to as a 'painter of the four elements'. In 1902, in a letter to Feliks Jasieński he wrote:

All the elements, once painted will be at your disposal – air, water and earth. I regret that fire is missing. (1902)

Indeed, his landscape painting is a celebration of these universal forces. This fact of Ruszczyc's art has been interpreted by scholars as a consequence of the Modernist interest in nature as abode of the spirit, as well as a natural development of the Symbolist concept of the 'internal landscape' reflecting the mood of its creator. Considering his familiarity with the work of Ichiryûsai Hiroshige – a virtuoso of the representation of natural forces, and taking into account how much he admired Hiroshige's art, however, it would be imprudent to ignore the possibility of a conscious adaptation on Ruszczyc's part of certain aspects of Hiroshige's prints. We know not only that he collected ukiyo-e, but also that his special preference focused on Hiroshige. In another letter to Jasieński, he wrote:

I intended to thank you in person for the collection of Hiroshiges, with which you have enriched my collection, and I would like to offer you one of my works instead. (1905)

Unfortunately, we have no knowledge of the precise contents of his collection of Japanese woodblocks. Kossowski managed to obtain a confirmation from the artist's daughter that the Japanese collection perished in fire in Ruszczyc's house in Vilnius during World War II. (1981)

Regardless of the differences between the two systems of the natural elements (western and eastern), what these two artists shared was a predilection for depicting not just earth, water, and air (as fire is coincidentally missing from both oeuvres), but also a great skill and resourcefulness in depicting these forces in flux, or in action as it were. Observed most likely in Hiroshige's prints, but also known to Ruszczyc from the works of Ślewiński and Gauguin, the motif of rocks in the sea is prominent in Ruszczyc's painting: *Rock in the Sea*

⁶⁴ Jan Stanisławski created an informal 'school' of landscape painting at the Cracow Academy of Fine Arts.

(fig. 198), and Rocky Shore with a Wave (fig. 199). In the latter work the artist employed a high vantage point and eliminated completely the horizon line. This device – borrowed from Japanese woodblock – features also in From the Banks of the Wilejka (fig. 202) and Stream in the Woods (fig. 200). The first of these two paintings is reminiscent of a common type in ukiyo-e depicting bridges seen from bird's-eye view and dividing the expanse of the vista into separate sections (fig. 201). The other of the two works depicts the surface of water placed on the left and a slope of a mountain on the right. The division of the flatly conceived stains of colour is made particularly pronounced by the central vertical of the naked tree trunk. The gnarled trees in Old Apple Trees (fig. 204) evoke the convoluted contrivance in Hiroshige's Ueno sannai Tsuki no matsu from One Hundred Famous Views of Edo (fig. 203), whereas Spring (fig. 206) employs one of Hiroshige's favourite themes: the meandering river funnelling out at the bottom of the picture frame (fig. 205). Hiroshige's winter landscapes (fig. 207, 209) are translated in Ruszczyk's depictions of snow-covered mills (fig. 208, 210). Finally, Hiroshige's ingenious idea to represent birds in flight as cropped by the picture frame and as if embracing the landscape with their wings (fig. 211, 213) was adopted by Ruszczyk both before and after 1900 (fig. 212, 214).

Jacek Malczewski, whose painting focused mainly on patriotically charged themes depicted realistically, also drew on Japanese art. In his works, these Japanese inspirations manifested themselves in aerial perspective applied to landscapes, division of the pictorial space by means of vertical motifs, layering of horizontal registers, and the use of the diagonal motif. Edward Okuń, active in Munich, Paris, Rome and Warsaw, was known for his highly decorative painting in which he employed the Art Nouveau sinuous line. Okuń's Italian landscapes from the closing years of the 19th century (fig. 220-221) display a debt to Japanese models in that they adopt the formats of Japanese hanging scrolls, as well as in their decorative, almost abstract approach to nature. Stanisław Dębicki, who avidly collected Japanese woodblocks and often consulted Feliks Jasiński in matters of Japanese art⁶⁵ did not leave many landscapes, but his Rain (fig. 196) is an interesting adaptation of the ukiyo-e device to convey rain. The diagonal and parallel to one another lines present only in the upper half of the painting are very delicate and barely visible, yet the atmosphere of a storm is perfectly legible.

Józef Mehoffer, whose landscapes are outnumbered by other genres, invested his rural vistas and cityscapes with the human figure. *La Gorge d'Areuse* (fig. 183) employs a cropped cadre and features truncated objects cut off by the picture frame, whereas the female character is placed in a clearly off-centre position and as if suspended in a vacuum. Although

⁶⁵ Dębicki's collection of Japanese art will be discussed in the subchapter on Japanese art collections.

not very common in his work even after 1900, Mehoffer's landscapes referenced Japanese art through the use of subtle borrowings, which at first glance are unrecognisable as such to the uninformed eye. Cracow Square Market (fig. 182) was inspired by ukiyo-e prints depicting multitudes of people invariably represented in a schematised and conventionalised manner. In addition, the bird's-eye view captured from the artist's window makes use of vanishing point perspective however it appears to be modelled on the often exaggerated execution of the western perspective ubiquitous in 18th and 19th century ukiyo-e, rather than strictly following its tenets in which Mehoffer was well versed. Perhaps Mehoffer's most unusual appropriation from Japan is found in Strange Garden (fig. 184). Here the artist depicted a group of human figures, one of which, namely the woman on the left, was given a pose most characteristic of early 17th century type of ukiyo-e the Kaigetsudō school, but also equally popular with later ukiyo-e artists. The borrowed convention consists in approximating the overall shape of the female figure to letter S. This standardised Japanese pictorial form as well as the dragonfly hovering over the garden were also adopted by Art Nouveau in Europe, but Mehoffer had been familiar with their Japanese manifestations before Art Nouveau appeared in Europe. His fascination with Japanese art is attested to by the remnants of his own collection of japonica, today displayed in the artist's house in Cracow (fig. 185).

Japonisme in Poland before 1900 developed from contacts with its precedents in Western Europe, especially Paris. But up to this point one deals predominantly with one variety of Japonisme, namely – the presence of Japanese inspirations in the works of a relatively small, although significant and successful, group of artists. Regarding 'Japonisme' as 'a taste for Japanese art and culture', and therefore a wider phenomenon than just artistic inspirations, entails also other manifestations of the interest in Japan: collecting Japanese art, exhibiting it, writing about it and publishing texts on it, including it in prestigious national art collections, disseminating Japanese aesthetics and art philosophies through art education, and – as was in the case of Poland – extolling the example of Japanese society as a model for the Poles to follow. All these forms of Japonisme can be seen collectively as an infrastructure which generates and legitimises Japanese inspirations in artists' oeuvres. But this infrastructure did not appear in the Polish strand of Japonisme until the beginning of the 20th century. Although the significance of Paris remained great in the following period, the advent of Feliks Manggha Jasiński on the Polish cultural scene and the reverberations of the Russo-Japanese war triggered a period of developments relatively more independent from western prototypes. As I have shown in this chapter, besides occasional instances of incorporation of elements of Japanese art into Polish still lifes, portraits, genre scenes, and representations of flora and fauna, it was the landscape that proved the most cogent channel for the absorption and transformation of Japanese aesthetics, themes and pictorial conventions.

Chapter III: Home-grown Japonisme 1901-1918

The Godfather of Polish Japonisme: Feliks Manggha Jasiński

By no means is it an exaggeration to call Feliks Jasiński (1861-1929) ‘the Godfather’⁶⁶ of Polish Japonisme (fig. 228). His arrival first in Warsaw and then in Cracow in 1901 marks a breakthrough in the history of Polish interest in Japan. Whereas in the preceding period Japonisme filtered through to Poland from Western Europe, Jasiński’s efforts managed to create a new nucleus of Japonisme in Cracow. He was active on all fronts of artistic life, and had it not been for his actions, Japonisme in Poland probably would have been a fleeting and inconsequential episode in the history of Polish art, just like the short-lived Polish version of Impressionism.⁶⁷

Born in Grzegorzewice in the then Russian partition into an affluent landed gentry family, Jasiński received an excellent education. Between 1874 and 1881, he attended boarding schools in Warsaw, before starting his studies in political economy, philosophy and art history in Dorpat, continuing them in Berlin and Paris. His intellectual persona was shaped during those years by such figures as the Berliners: Ernst Curtius and Hermann Grimm, and the Paris-based Ernest Renan, whose lectures Jasiński attended (Miodońska-Brookes 1992, 45). France and Paris in particular were responsible for igniting his interest in collecting Japanese art. Jasiński came to Paris in the autumn of 1883 – the time when the craze for Japanese art, reached its peak. He socialised in the salon of Alexandra Wołowska-Faucher, one of Chopin’s first students, frequented by Parisian high society including its artistic milieu. Most likely, Jasiński rubbed shoulders with the de Goncourt brothers circle (Miodońska-Brookes 1992, 45). What we do have substantial evidence of are Jasiński’s contacts with the directors and other employees of both French provincial and Parisian museums and galleries. Galerie Georges Petit was his customary haunt. There he mingled with dealers of Japanese art as well as artists enamoured with it. He described his visit to the woodblock artist Auguste

⁶⁶ Considering the central role Jasiński played in the popularisation of Japanese art and culture in Poland, his impact on the development of so many Polish artists, as well as the often cavalier and scandalous conduct when promoting and defending the values underlying Japanese art, I consider it suitable to call him ‘the Godfather of Polish Japonisme’.

⁶⁷ Władysław Podkowiński (1866-1895) and Józef Pankiewicz (1866-1940) – close friends of Jasiński’s, who gave moral and financial support to both – brought Impressionism to Poland following their sojourn in Paris until 1890 (Kokoska 2001).

Lepère's studio in rue Vaugirard in Paris (Jasieński 1901, cited after Miodońska-Brookes 1992, 232). He became friends with the art critic Félix Fénéon, and through one of his closest friends – the artist Józef Pankiewicz – he met Pierre Bonnard.⁶⁸ Having already re-settled in Poland in the late 1880s, Jasieński continued to travel a great deal across Europe, North African and Asia Minor, often returning to France. There, through the Pankiewicz connection, he was introduced to the salon of Misia Godebska-Sert, who married the Polish émigré and politician Tadeusz Nathanson, the future editor of *La Revue Blanche*. Misia, as she was known in Parisian society, was a muse and confidant to Lautrec, Ravel, Mallarmé, Debussy, Renoir, Vuillard, Vallotton, Bonnard, Picasso, Cocteau, Diaghilev and Coco Chanel (Gold & Fizdale 1981). Of paramount importance for Jasieński's collecting was his familiarity with major collections of Japanese art in Paris, London, Hamburg, Vienna, Munich and Leyden, as well as the awareness of the Boston collection amassed by Fenollosa (Jasieński 1906, 15). Agnieszka Kluczevska-Wójcik informs us of Jasieński's contacts with Paris-based dealers of oriental art, citing the names of Siegfried Bing, Tadamasa Hayashi and Charles Vignier (2007, 267). The same source states that Jasieński maintained a close personal relationship with Vignier, who between 1920 and 1930 worked as an expert of Asian art for Hôtel Drouot, an important auction house of the day, where many of the major collections of Japanese art went under the hammer. Jasieński's extant business correspondence links him with the following names of the Parisian art market: H. Portier and Worch; and the shops specialising in the sale of graphic arts: H. Floury, E. Flammarion, A. Saillant, and F. de Sant'Andrea (Kluczevska-Wójcik 2007, 267). Auction catalogues from Jasieński's library attest to his purchases of Japanese art at Hôtel Drouot in Paris, Amsterdam and other cities during the first decade of the 20th century.⁶⁹

Jasieński's Japanese Art Collection

By vocation, Jasieński was an artist, but his creative aspirations were never translated into an artist's career. He fulfilled himself as a critic of art and music, and although as a critic his creative inclination was compromised, certain aspects of his activity may be seen as

⁶⁸ Pankiewicz established friendships with Bonnard and Fénéon while in France in 1908. The relationships with both remained close until their deaths in the 1940s. Pankiewicz met Jasieński in the late 1880s in Warsaw and remained in close contact until Jasieński's death in 1929.

⁶⁹ Collection Dimitri Schevicht catalogue de vente, 22, 23 et 24 mai, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 1905; Collection P. Barboutau catalogue de vente, 3 juin, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 1904; Collection P. Barboutau catalogue de vente, 6, 7, 8 novembre 1905, Amsterdam.

creations par excellence. As Miodońska-Brookes has pointed out, all Jasieński's statements, published and unpublished, revolve around his profound conviction that personal fulfilment in his case was a corollary of every-day contact with works of art (1992, 11). Based on that, the essence of his aspiration is better denoted by the category of 'art connoisseur' rather than 'art creator'. The creation of his life was his collection of art, great in terms of quality and quantity of pieces. Miodońska-Brookes perceives it as a collective art piece in its own right (1992, 10). The ensemble reveals its author's exceptional artistic intuition, ability to discern the best works, but above all those that have not been recognised and sanctioned by the authoritative voices of the critics and the public. This evaluation concerns the Polish Modernist part of the collection, but one comprising a high percentage of Japanising works.

Japanese art from his collection constituted the largest section (ca. 6,500 items). The group included paintings, painted or embroidered folding screens, sculpture, textiles, kimono, obi sashes, lacquerware, ceramics, enamelware, metalwork, netsuke, masks, katagami stencils, arms and armour, including tsuba sword guards, and Japanese woodblock-printed books including Hokusai's *Manga* (fig. 229-192). The bulk of the Japanese section was a group of 5,000 ukiyo-e woodblock prints (Alber 1994, 15). Among the many artists represented, one finds the giants of ukiyo-e: Katsushika Hokusai, Utagawa Hiroshige, Suzuki Harunobu, Kitagawa Utamaro, Utagawa Kuniyoshi, Utagawa Kunisada, Utagawa Toyokuni, Keisai Eisen, Katsukawa Shunshō, Katsukawa Shunko, Katsukawa Shunchō, Itao Masanobu, Hiroshige II, Hiroshige III, Kitao Shigemasa, and many others. In the Polish context, the collection fared, and still does, as the largest and most valuable, but it also matched main European collections, in particular with regards to the Japanese print component. Despite the fact that a precious part of the collection was stolen by the Nazis, it still has pieces found in no other collection in the world (fig. 234).⁷⁰ Although the collection's Japanese part was amassed predominantly by Jasieński in Paris in the 1880s, it continued to be extended afterwards through a number of sources. Jasieński referred to his closest friend Leon Wyczółkowski as the co-creator of his collection, and from numerous letters to and from Jasieński, we may infer that Stanisław Dębicki (fig. 293, 357) and Jan Stanisławski also contributed to it.

⁷⁰ This print *Monamoto-no Yoritomo Hunting at the Foot of Mt. Fuji* (1786-1789) by Kitagawa Utamaro is the only extant specimen of this woodblock print design, and a rare example of the artist's interest in history.

Negative Varsovian Reception

In 1901, part of this splendid collection was shown at the Zachęta Gallery of Art in Warsaw.⁷¹ Since its prime purpose was the promotion of arts as its name implied, Jasieński, who had for some time been planning to found a gallery to house and exhibit his Japanese collection, decided to mount an exhibition there and eventually to donate his collection to this institution. In retrospect, this is how Jasieński summed up his expectations concerning the exhibition and how he was disappointed, to say the least, with its reception:

It seemed to me that if I showed our public the prints of Japanese masters, about which they had only a faint idea, if I said to our artists and the directors of public opinion that this is what the Japanese nation has created in a collective effort; that the public would understand my good intentions, and that the press would support these good intentions. In fact, something opposite happened: the public ridiculed not just me, but the shown exhibits; I received hundreds anonymous letters (...) with accusations that I am popularising pictures from tea boxes. (Jasieński, cited after Wiercińska 1967, 213)

Varsovian critics' reaction was indeed hostile, and expressed disparaging judgements on Japanese art and even the Japanese themselves:

(Japanese woodblock prints are) ludicrous, awkward lucubration of a cannibalistic tribe on the brink of extinction. (Kossowski 2006, 34)

The anonymous letters to Jasieński were equally offensive:

Take your eyes from the exhibition and go away to the place you came from – develop the tastes of Papuans and not Varsovians! (Kozakowska 1989, 16)

Jasieński, known for his uncompromising stand on philistine attitudes to art responded to this affront in a manner that caused a scandal, followed by a heated repartee in the press. Provoked by the ignorance of the Varsovians', he distributed around the exhibition rooms a series of impertinent notes addressed to the public. Three of them read: 'not for swine', 'Chinese tea and Japanese art are two different things', and 'For admirers of Japanese art, able to read and deal with books'.

⁷¹ 'Zachęta' (Encouragement) stands for The Society for Encouragement of Fine Arts.

Before leaving Warsaw, he released the Polish edition of his opus magnum – *Manggha. Promenades à travers le monde, l'art et les idées* (1901)⁷², which initially because of its complicated 19th century style did not gain many Polish readers (Kozakowska 1989, 16). However, it proved to be very popular in France and Germany, as well as among Polish artists and art critics. Zenon Przesmycki (1861-1944), a Warsaw-based art critic, the author of the first text in Polish on Japanese art – *Drzeworyt japoński* (Japanese Woodblock) (1901), and editor of the *Chimera* magazine, which was to play an important function in the dissemination of the taste for Japanese art in Poland, impatiently awaited a finished copy of Jasieński's work:

I cannot express with words what satisfaction your letter and book (*Manggha*) have caused me. Thank you cordially. I am somewhat familiar with the draft, which I am sending back, but now I intend to immerse myself in it with gusto. I hope that you, my dear friend will be pleased with my review of it in *Chimera*. Others might be less pleased. 23 February, 1901. (Kozakowska 1989, 28)

The Move to Cracow

The same year Jasieński organised an exhibition of Dutch, German and Japanese prints at the Society of Friends of Fine Art in Lviv, which received mixed reviews. His two-month stay in Lviv has been described as an artistic mission, and left its art lovers in a state of turbulent debate. Finally, at the end of 1901, he moved to Cracow and settled there permanently with his collection. His apartment in an elegant townhouse at the corner of The Market Square and St John's Street became a Mecca for Cracow's Bohemia and an informal museum of art and craft with a clear focus on Japanese art (fig. 294-295). Not only the members of the art world: artists, critics, collectors, dealers and art students, but also the general public were welcome to this abode of curiosities. Jasieński did not stop at letting people visit his Musée Jasieński, for which he even had a stamp made (fig. 296). His enthusiastic, almost fanatical attitude to art made him an excellent guide to his collection. Crowds were allowed to view his collection. The Zakopane-based artist Stanisław Eljasz Radzikowski recalled his visit to Musée Jasieński in 1903:

I looked into Manggha's collection, he was showing a crowd of women around, and then disappeared in a corner and played the harmonium. (Kozakowska 1989, 16)

⁷² For more on Manggha see the literature review in Chapter 1.

Jasieński's move to Cracow marked a breakthrough in his life and career for several reasons. Firstly, the Bohemian subculture of Modernist liberal Cracow was more susceptible to new tendencies in contemporary art, and therefore received Jasieński and his collection warmly. Secondly, as already mentioned, his collection was made available to a wider public for the first time, even if in a locale essentially unsuited to such purposes. Thirdly, perhaps as a result of an increased confidence due to a cordial welcome in Cracow, Jasieński's career as the author of press articles and other texts on art (including Japanese art) and music took off. In addition, here he was given his most adequate alias: Manggha, which to this day stands for his middle name.⁷³ This was the place, where Manggha's impact on the art scene was to be felt in all aspects: exhibitions, art criticism, art patronage, art education, museology and of course collecting. Here Jasieński became a major player of Polish Modernism. His authority among Polish artists is best attested to by the overwhelming number of his portraits by them (fig. 492-493, 497, 505-506, 540). During the first years of his life in Cracow, Jasieński concentrated on acquiring works by Young Poland artists, many of these pieces inspired by the ukiyo-e prints that he often used as a means of barter in transactions with the artists. For this very reason, a large group of art pieces that can be classified as Polish Japonisme have been preserved in the National Museum in Cracow – the heir to Jasieński's collection.

The Infrastructure and Geography of Polish Japonisme

Before 1918 Polish lands had been partitioned between Prussia, Russia and Austria, and as a consequence of this, Polish artistic centres belonged to three different political spheres. Although links between these cities were more than tenuous, there was no coherent or uniform system uniting their artistic activities. Out of the three occupied zones, it was the Austrian that afforded the highest degree of autonomy. The capital of the Austro-Habsburg province of Galicia (former southern and south-eastern Poland) was Lviv, but from the Polish perspective Cracow played the central role in the disjointed existence of the Polish nation. Despite the fact that up to around 1890 Cracow was a cultural backwater of the Empire and considerably behind European artistic hubs, it had assumed the status of a Polish 'Acropolis', the old capital embodying the nation's aspiration for independence. As such it continued to be

⁷³ The nom de plume 'Manggha' was assigned to Jasieński by the artist Stanisław Dębicki, also an aficionado of all things Japanese, in a humorous gesture reflecting the collector's unconditional service in the popularisation of Japanese art. Other pseudonyms under which he published were: Felix, Globtrotter and Dołęga-Szczęśny.

the burial place of national heroes and of patriotic manifestations, thus performing the function of a de facto Polish capital.

With regards to the arts, Cracow surpassed all other Polish cities in its openness to new trends. Its Bohemian milieu, fuelled by French, German and Scandinavian modernistic traditions, began to attract artists from other partitions. The influx of vanguard individualities strengthened the creative atmosphere and by 1900 the city boasted the most vibrant and progressive network of formal and informal art institutions. Its art scene was superior to the more conservative Varsovian circles. If Paris was the capital of Polish Japonisme in its first phase (1885-1900), Cracow succeeded in this respect in the next period. It is important to stress that Parisian links remained vital for the development of the taste for Japanese art in Poland, but with the advent of the 20th century, one observes an emergence of a discourse of Japonisme and a variety of its manifestations on home ground, and in particular in Cracow.

Cracow Academy of Fine Arts

Most certainly, a cardinal factor in determining Cracow's pivotal function in the establishment and subsequent dissemination of the taste for Japanese art in Poland was the arrival of Feliks Manggha Jasieński in 1901. We have already partially acknowledged his contribution to the network of venues in support of Japonisme in Cracow: Musée Jasieński with his collection of Japanese art. There were several other institutions in Cracow which provided amicable ground for Japonisme. The School of Fine Arts (fig. 298), which in 1900 attained the status of an Academy, was run by Julian Fałat, a Japoniste with a first-hand experience of Japan and China. His programme of reforms inaugurated a thorough reshuffle of the teaching staff at the Academy and resulted in compiling a team of professors, the majority of whom were admirers of Japanese art.

Besides Japanese inspirations in western art, the phenomenon of Japonisme also encompasses collecting and exhibiting Japanese art, the production of scholarly and other discourses on it, as well as the sphere of popular taste.⁷⁴ This sub-chapter deals with yet another strand, Japonisme in art education, an area doubly significant for the diffusion of the taste for Japanese art, as firstly it is an instance of it per se, and secondly, it has a potential to generate further examples of it. Its manifestation in western art pedagogy during the period under consideration should be associated with individual enterprises of aficionados of

⁷⁴ Gabriel P. Weisberg notes that since 1980 the study of Japonisme has focused not only on artistic production inspired by Japan, but also on other aspects of cultural diffusion. (1990: xxii-xxiii)

Japanese art, rather than with systematic programmes and policies of educational establishments.

19th c. Japonisme was a trend flourishing among vanguard artists, rather than one embraced by art academies. As Paweł Taranczewski noted, ‘the Viennese, Munich and Parisian academies entrenched themselves in doctrinarism and conservatism, changes in art taking place outside of them and independently of them, or even – as in Paris – against them’ (1994, 39). By 1895, Poland had been partitioned for a century, and art became a treasury of national memory and a means of maintaining hope for independence. Consequently, Cracow School of Fine Arts (fig. 2239) trained bearers of national spirit, but with regards to progressive tendencies it did not differ from its European counterparts. A change of this status quo was triggered in 1895 by radical reforms introduced by Julian Fałat (fig. 2240), who had visited Japan in 1885 (Malinowski 2000, 75-83).

Fałat’s first-hand experience of Japan prompted a fundamental change in his painting, a fact repeatedly emphasised by contemporary critics. Malinowski has observed that in following the Japanese example, he became an artist creating spontaneously, void of intellectual inhibitions, in fact knowingly anti-intellectual (2000, 82-83).

Fałat’s reform at the Academy began with a thorough reshuffle of the teaching staff. The new arrivals (fig. 2241-2256) were exclusively vanguard artists, standing in opposition to Historicism but partly educated under Matejko’s rule. By placing art education in the hands of vanguard artists, he laid the grounds for an effective dissemination of, among other current tendencies, Japonisme. To what extent an inclination towards Japan was a criterion in Fałat’s choice of teachers is difficult to determine. No conclusive evidence for such rationale exists. It could well have been for fear of charges of faddism that as the director he felt obliged to scale down on the Japanese element. Even Arthur Wesley Dow, who enjoyed fairly unlimited freedom at his private school in Ipswich, Massachusetts, was occasionally forced to conceal his Japanese agenda. In 1892, in the face of an anti-Japanese backlash, when addressing the Boston Art Students’ League, he made Whistler and Puvis de Chavannes, rather than the Japanese, his examples (Moffatt 1976). Similarly, Johannes Itten’s overt reliance on Japanese sources at the Bauhaus proved the very reason for his departure triggered by Gropius’s disapproval of his teaching methods, in particular the preparatory meditation exercises steeped in East Asian mysticism (Kaneko 2003). If Dow and Itten came across formidable obstacles in implementing their Japanese-inspired pedagogy in the USA and Germany respectively – countries with by then relatively longer history of exposure to Japanese art than Poland, it comes as no surprise that Fałat chose to refrain tactically from incorporating elements of Japanese aesthetics and art into his reformed curriculum. Unlike in the case of the educational institutions run by Dow, Itten or Morley-Fletcher, it would be in vain to look for

signs of official inclusion of aspects of Japanese culture into the teaching proposed by Fałat in Cracow. To avoid charges of sensationalism, Fałat's reform did not expand the scope of lectures on art history to include Japanese art, nor did it introduce any aspects of Japanese aesthetics or art theory into the curriculum. Even the teaching of the history of civilisation excluded Japan. Nevertheless, what Fałat did herald was a climate favourable for the development of Japonisme. In retrospect, considering the hostile, Varsovian reception of Jasieński's Japanese exhibition in 1901, it is understandable that a few years earlier, before Jasieński began to break the ice, Fałat made no explicit references to Japan. By no means did his reform prioritise Japan. Nonetheless, I argue that this consideration was meaningful.

It remains a fact that the presence of Japonisme within the walls of the Academy was evident after 1895 and remained essentially unchanged until the outbreak of World War II. A large proportion of its professors between 1895 and 1939 can be classified as admirers of Japanese art (fig. 2264). Japanese inspirations in their works have been acknowledged in most cases, some assembled more or less significant collections of Japanese art, and all came into contact with it in Poland and abroad. The first generation of these teaching artists was hired during Fałat's tenure as the Academy's director, whereas the next entered the establishment after Fałat's departure, but were students there prior to his leaving (fig. 2259). Olga Boznańska (fig. 2257) and Władysław Ślewiński (fig. 2258) – artists based in France and known for their Japanese appropriations – should also be mentioned in the present context, as the former was offered a position at Cracow Academy but declined it (Boznańska 1896), whereas the latter was prevented from securing it due to a stratagem by Józef Mehoffer (Jaworska 1991, 54-57).

The Academy's professors were Japonistes indeed, but to what extent did their Japanese leanings permeate life at the Academy? To address this issue two types of sources of information are potentially constructive. Firstly, extant documentary evidence lends unswerving support to the existence of Japonisme at the Academy, and secondly, the continued presence of Japanese inspirations in the works its professors – subsequently reflected in the art of its students – reinforces the thesis. Textual mentions of discussions on Japanese art during the classes at the Academy exist, but are rare. Ferdynand Ruszczyc's letter to Jasieński from 1904 informs that Ruszczyc shared passionate discussions on Hiroshige's prints with his colleagues and students:

My Dear Friend! I owe to you another surprise and the wonderful impressions that are caused by Hiroshige. Magnificent! I was showing it to my colleagues and some students and we admired them together. (1904)⁷⁵

⁷⁵ This and all subsequent quotations were translated by Piotr Sławski.

Ruszczyc's Diaries provide another relevant remark:

I am selecting paintings together with Stanisławski for his exhibition of the history of landscape painting. We have chosen woodblocks by Utagawa Hiroshige, reproductions of drawings by Rembrandt and Rousseau. I intend to mount such an exhibition in Warsaw. (1994, 146)

Although the former quote refers to Warsaw School of Fine Arts, where Ruszczyc had taught until 1906, before he joined Cracow Academy in 1907, both citations attest to the fact that Stanisławski and Ruszczyc – the consecutive heads of the landscape painting department at Cracow – not only placed Hiroshige's landscapes within the context of European painting, on par with those by Rembrandt, or even, judging by the order of enumeration, in a superior position to Rembrandt's, but also projected this stance onto their students. These snippets of information, however, relate to extracurricular contexts. Surviving photographs taken at the Academy confirm that certain iconic examples of Polish Japonisme were created on the premises. Pankiewicz's works are a case in point (fig. 2262). Another category are accounts by Karol Frycz's stage design students, who are unanimous in saying that Frycz spoke incessantly about Japan and its art, managing to include something Japanese in every lecture. His post-war lectures were remembered by Kazimierz Wiśniak:

It was not a dialogue between the professor and his students rather we were the audience while he spoke. These were the best lectures I ever attended at the Academy. His accounts of Japan... He spoke of Japanese fashions, kimonos, fans, flowers, teahouses, lanterns. (Kuchtówna 2004, 423)

Frycz channelled his love of Japan into art education much earlier than the post-war years. First, in 1903 he studied at the Kunstgewerbeschule in Vienna under Alfred Roller, who relied in his teaching on katagami and kachô-ga (Japonisme in Vienna, 1994/5). Upon returning to Poland, Frycz made a didactic drawing for *Liberum Veto*, where he included a Japanese cockerel. During the 1920 and 1930s, following his sojourn in China and Japan, he imparted his knowledge of East Asia and its art to his students at Cracow Academy. Roller's Japanese-inspired method of bird drawing was also adopted at Cracow Academy by Leon Wyczółkowski (Kuchtówna, 2004: 56). However, it was Wojciech Jastrzębowski's remark quoted above that confirms in a definitive manner the importance of Japanese sources, namely the Japanese woodblock, for the teaching at the Academy.

Fałat, as the Academy's Director, never taught directly, but his art – often inspired by Japan – was highly influential for many. Franciszek Zygart, whose work features direct references to Japan, was remembered as 'ulubiony sercu Fałata uczeń' (Fałat's beloved

student) (Majkowski 1931, 2; Majkowski & Przybyszewski, 1931). According to the Academy's records, however, Zygart studied at the Academy under Jan Stanisławski (Grabowska 2003, 36). The presence of Japanese inspirations in Zygart's oeuvre was, most probably, the result of the artist's experience and the Academy. Similarly, the Japanese-borrowed motif of the meandering creek amidst snow, conspicuous in Fałat's oeuvre after 1907, became a point of departure for among other students, Stefan Filipkiewicz, Stanisław Kamocki, Ludwik Misky, Teodor Ziomek, Jakub Glasner, Stanisław Gałek, Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz, Henryk Uziembło, Abraham Neuman, Jan Talaga, Konstanty Kietlicz-Rayski, Mieczysław Filipkiewicz, and Romuald Kamil Witkowski.

Many of the professors at the Academy were above all artists and only secondarily pedagogues, and therefore often taught by the example of their own art. Japanese inspirations in the works by the Academy's professors and students created either during their tenures there or thereafter manifested themselves in a wide array of genres, themes, motifs, compositional ploys, methods, techniques, and other artistic solutions. Portraiture included depictions of western women attired in Japanese garb, members of high society accompanied by Japanese artefacts, and self-portraits showing the sitters as lovers of Japan. As we have established before, still lifes with Japanese artefacts are a distinctive feature of Polish Japonisme (Kossowski 1981). The main reasons for their abundance in Poland was Jasieński's practice of lending objects from his collection to artists, but also the fact that the still life, along with the nude, constituted the core of teaching at the Academy. Japanising genre scenes exist mainly in the work of Karol Frycz's, who stayed in Japan in the 1920s as member of the Polish diplomatic mission. His theatre stage designs were often inspired by Japanese and Chinese architecture, and much of his art created in East Asia displayed an ethnographic interest. Japanese approaches to depicting the female figure marked works by Weiss, Karpiński, Axentowicz, and Pankiewicz.

One of Fałat's first moves was the creation of the department of landscape painting in 1896, for which he procured Jan Stanisławski, whose Japonisme was acknowledged by Jasieński in his *Manggha* (Miodońska-Brookes & Cieśla-Korytowska 1992, 334). Stanisławski created a large sub-school within the Academy, and his disciples remained faithful to his Japanese teaching not only during their studies, but often long afterwards.

Stanisław Wyspiański was reluctant to admit his debt to Japan⁷⁶, but it was apparent to his students, one of which commented on the series of pastels depicting Kościuszko Mound

⁷⁶ See Wyspiański's quote on page 83 (Płoszewski & Rydlowa 1971, 421).

painted at the time of the Russo-Japanese War, instigated by Jasieński and intended as a token of solidarity with the Japanese in their struggle against Poland's oppressor Russia:

Rendered in rugged colourful line, they make up a whole resembling the synthetic Japanese landscapes. (Niesiołowski 1932)

The motif of the Fuji-like peak was used by other professors and students. Obvious allusions to it are present in the works by Witold Florkiewicz, Marcin Samlicki, Leon Kowalski, Karol Frycz, Stanisławski, and Wyczółkowski.

Stanisławski's successors at the department of landscape painting were Ferdynand Ruszczyk and then Stanisławski's former student Stanisław Kamocki, both of whom borrowed from Japanese art freely. Seasonality in general and winter landscape in particular, invariably infused with Japanese aesthetics, proved a highly favoured category. Landscape provided the best opportunity for the students to apply Japanese-derived structural devices, such as the crating motif – often employed by Władysław Skoczyła, Jacek Malczewski, Franciszek Jaźwiecki, Stanisław Kamocki, Wojciech Jastrzębowski, and Jan Rubczak; aerial perspective, and the *pars pro toto* principle – a visual simile adopted by Wyczółkowski, Weiss, Stefan Filipkiewicz and Stanisław Gałek in their representations of the Tatra Mountains. Understood as an extension of the landscape were depictions of plants and animals, a genre known in Japan as *kachô-ga*. Here by far the most prominent representative was Weiss, but also Wyczółkowski, Adam Bunsch, Jacek Mierzejewski, Teodor Ziomek, and Stanisławski.

With respect to caricature reliant on Japanese stimuli, Kazimierz Sichulski and Witold Wojtkiewicz were most prolific. The former produced humorous travesties of particular Japanese works. *Wyczół and Manggha Fly to Japan* and *Zuzanna in the Bath* bear strong resemblances to a *surimono* entitled *A Goddess on a Crane*, and depictions of Utamaro's beauties preening themselves at the *toilette*, respectively.⁷⁷ Sichulski also created satirical depictions of notable figures, in which he either used literal Japanese visual citations, or made stylistic appropriations from Japanese art. The latter is well represented by a caricature of Kornel Makuszyński evocative of Zen ink paintings of patriarchs and sages in contemplation. Its typically monochrome composition, the economy of brushstrokes and the wash-drawing technique where the line ranges from sharp-edged, focused to blurry, against the primal surface of the paper are also present in Sichulski's portrait of Witkiewicz. In the *The Romantic*, Wojtkiewicz employed the same approach. His editorial cartoons: *The Latest*

⁷⁷ Both these Japanese prototypes were accessible to the artist in Jasieński's collection.

'Kulturträger' in the Far East, actors' caricatures: Jadwiga Mrozowska as Anastasia, a 1907 invitation to Zielony Balonik inspired by Hyakki yakô-zu (One Hundred Night Phantoms) from Jasiński's collection, and other travesties reflect his distinctive brand of Japonisme. Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz's commercial portraits from the interwar period emulate the Japanese method of depicting ghosts, most notable in the work of Hokusai and Kuniyoshi. The elongated figures of ukiyo-e, best exemplified by Torii Kiyonaga and Utagawa Toyokuni, served as inspiration for graphic works by Frycz and Wojtkiewicz. Frycz's caricature of Wawel à la japonaise according to Jasiński is another excellent example of Japonisme by first a student and then a professor at the Academy.

The birth of Polish graphic arts was aided by Japanese stimuli (Kossowska 2000). The role of the Academy in promoting graphic arts cannot be overestimated. The main pioneers were Wyczółkowski, Pankiewicz, Weiss, and Stanisławski. Their Japonisme in this respect drew upon sumi-e, katagami, Nanga, Okumura Masanobu, and ukiyo-e. Wyczółkowski began teaching in 1895. Applied graphic arts, including the poster also benefited from referencing Japanese art, as mirrored in the works by Weiss, Frycz, Axentowicz, Kamocki, Skoczylas, Jastrzębowski and Jan Bułas.

Feliks Jasiński was not officially part of the establishment, but his campaign for Japonisme spearheaded life at the Academy at all levels. He played an active part in the choice of candidates for the posts, recommending Józef Pankiewicz (Fałat 1904) and Adam Łada-Cybulski (Jasiński 1905). His friendships with the professors and students enabled him to channel Japonisme into the teaching. Visits to Jasiński's house – a de facto museum of art, and his enthusiastic lectures on Japanese art, ignited a spark of Japonisme in many. His collection, along with a library, served as an invaluable source of knowledge on Japanese art. Jasiński's active, if extra-curricular, involvement should be seen as part of a larger didactic mission aimed at the Polish nation and offering the example of Japan as a paradigm to follow in Polish art and culture in general (Miodońska-Brookes 1992, 11, 17-25). Jasiński conveyed his didactic *modus operandi* in subsequently much-quoted adages:

We ought to learn from the Japanese – to be Polish. (Jasiński 1901)

I have shown you Japan to teach you to think of Poland. (Jasiński 1901b)

The Academy's library accumulated its own collection of books on Japanese art. Although no inventories from the time survive, I have been able to determine its make-up by the stamps used before 1918 (fig. 2310), and during the interwar period (fig. 2309). Among them are titles by Fenollosa, Bing, Gonse, Perzyński, Kurth, and others (fig. 2265-2308, 2311-2315).

Unlike the schools directed by Dow, the Bauhaus, or the Ittenschule, Japonisme at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts was not dictated by a structured methodical curriculum. Instead, it was diffused by the example of the professors' Japanese inspirations. Thus, despite the multifaceted existence of the taste for Japanese art within this educational institution, it is not a case of programmatic Japonisme. Through his reforms however, Fałat situated Modernism, and with it Japonisme, within the mainstream of academic education, and by hiring artists working in a modernist mode, he gave modern art and Japonisme a degree of acceptance and an institutional base. From then on, Japonisme became a component of the dominant paradigm, and was thereafter perpetuated into the post-war decades.

The Association of Polish Artists Sztuka

In 1897, The Association of Polish Artists Sztuka (Art) was founded by Chelmoński, Wyspiański, Mehoffer, Malczewski, Stanisławski, Wyczółkowski and others. This first independent association of artists in the history of Polish art declared as its prime aims to raise the standards of national art and to popularise Polish art at home and abroad. Because it brought together most of the professors of the Academy, but also many other figures of the Polish art world, its outlook on Japanese art and its value were channelled into the organisation's constitution. The consolidation of Polish art scene and the canonisation of Polish art were both important objectives of Sztuka. Although Jasieński was not formally a member, he took active part in the life of the organisation, and in 1903, together with Adam Łada-Cybulski, the Secretary of The Academy of Fine Arts, he edited a series of albums under the title Sztuka Polska (Polish Art), whose goals converged with those of Sztuka. It was an ambitious enterprise, as the first Polish, and one of the first European art publications to rely on full-colour photomechanical reproductions, rather than descriptions of artworks (Brzyski 2004, 1). It set in place the canon of Polish art. It was addressed not only to the artistic milieu, but, more importantly, its target readership were 'educated, patriotic, middle class readers, whose disposable income could accommodate the album's subscription price of thirty Austrian crowns, and whose social identity required at least a cursory familiarity with national culture' (Brzyski 2004, 1). Although no reproductions of Japanese art were included in the albums, the Polish artists represented therein were all modernists, most of whom were sympathetic towards Japanese art. Their works featured in Sztuka Polska were frequently examples of Japonisme. The publication's didactic tone indicates the authors' intention to educate the nation as to what Polish national art should be. The inclusion of Japanese art would have been of course out of question, and contradictory with the title, but building the

canon of Polish art with elements already inspired by Japanese art fitted well with Jasieński's programme of teaching the nation via the example of Japanese culture.

Michalik's Den Café and the Green Balloon Cabaret

One of the two most popular haunts of the Cracovian Bohemian circles was the café Jama Michalika (Michalik's Den) (fig. 263), and the other Paon (Gawlik 1961). Jama Michalika was to become a historical landmark in the history of Polish Modernism. Between 1905 and 1912 the legendary literary 'cabaret' Zielony Balonik (Green Balloon) (fig. 299-300) staged its performances on the premises. According to Adam Grzymała-Siedlecki, the idea for the cabaret-theatre came from Jan August Kisielewski, a playwright and theatre critic, who in 1902 wrote the earliest Polish work on the Japanese theatre *O teatrze japońskim* (On Japanese Theatre) (Grzymała-Siedlecki 1959). In 1900, Kisielewski met in Paris the Japanese actress and geisha Sada Yacco (fig. 297) and her husband Otojirô Kawakami. They formed the first Japanese theatre troupe to be seen in the West, performing in America and various countries in Europe, including the 1900 Exposition Universelle in Paris. In 1902, the company, at Kisielewski's invitation, toured Poland: Lviv, Cracow, Łódź and Warsaw (Osiński 2009). To prepare the Lviv and Cracow audiences, Kisielewski gave introductory talks on Japanese theatre (Kisielewski 1902, 1).

The Japanese element in the life of Zielony Balonik has not been studied, but even on cursory inspection one is struck by a series of features reminiscent of Japanese culture. Strictly speaking, the performances at Jama Michalika had little if anything to do with cabaret as we understand it today. It was more of an artists' club with spontaneous events organised in an atmosphere of happening. The marionette spectacles, which parodied contemporary figures from the Cracow cultural and political scenes, including Feliks Jasieński, to a degree resembled the Japanese puppet theatre of Bunraku. The events were not open to the general public, and access was granted to holders of invitations designed by a group of artists involved in the production of these evenings (fig. 302-303). These invitations were decorated with designs that were often inspired by Japanese art and included calligraphic text. Just like the Japanese surimono commissioned by Japanese poetry societies, the invites were printed in small formats and were also meant to commemorate performances that were never repeated, every evening was a premiere. The design by Wojtkiewicz (fig. 303) featuring frolicking imaginary creatures suspended in a pictorial vacuum of a nondescript background, and presented in a horizontally elongated format is strongly reminiscent of an emakimono available to the artist in Jasieński's collection Hyakki yako-zu (One Hundred Night Phantoms)

(fig. 304).⁷⁸ It was here that numerous pieces of poetry, caricatures and jokes were created by a team of artists, who were either devout Japonistes or dabbled as such: Witold Wojtkiewicz, Kazimierz Sichulski, Karol Frycz, Wojciech Weiss, Stanisław Dębicki, Teodor Axentowicz, Henryk Szczygliński, Alfons Karpiński, Stanisław Kamocki, Stefan Filipkiewicz and Henryk Uziębło (fig. 301). The evenings were also frequented by many Japonistes, who did not contribute to their production. Much of the original décor of the café survives, and among these works there is a pastel painting by Sichulski *Manggha and Wyczół(kowski) Fly to Japan* (1906) (fig. 305).⁷⁹ The idea of humans flying atop an animal, in this case a bird of prey (eagle or falcon), was common in Japanese art, but Sichulski became intrigued by this theme most probably upon seeing a print from Jasieński's collection *A Goddess on a Crane* (fig. 306) by an unknown artist.

The Cradle of Warsaw Japonisme: Chimera

Although in the first decade of the 20th century Cracow was the main centre of Japonisme in Poland, Warsaw had something Cracow did not. The high quality literary and artistic periodical *Chimera* edited and published by Zenon Przesmycki (Miriam) was the first Polish magazine espousing the idea of unity of all arts, and the only one that measured up to similar European publications. Its graphic appearance owed a great deal to Japanese art, and its editor, who in its third issue placed his extended essay *Japanese Woodblock* (1901)⁸⁰, was an admirer of Japanese art. The thirty issues of *Chimera* released between 1901 and 1907 contained reproductions of works by Hokusai, Hiroshige, Utamaro and Kôrin, and numerous decorative motifs derived mainly from ukiyo-e iconography and other Japanese art (fig. 307-342). Besides these vignettes, there were others designed by artists from Warsaw, Cracow, Lviv and Vilnius: Józef Mehoffer (fig. 345, 352), Edward Okuń (fig. 343, 347-350, 354), Franciszek Siedlecki (fig. 344, 346), Jan Stanisławski (fig. 353, 1088), Józef Pankiewicz, Karol Tichy, Konrad Krzyżanowski, Stanisław Dębicki (fig. 310) and Marian Wawrzeniecki (fig. 351) (Kuplińska, 243). A large percentage of these followed Japanese principles of composition and Japanese formats. The magazine also featured reproductions of Japanising

⁷⁸ Jasieński's owned a 19th century copy (nearly eight-metre long) of the 16th century original kept at the Daitokuji temple in Kyoto.

⁷⁹ Sichulski's work is a humorous take on Jasieński's and Wyczółkowski's fascination with Japan and its art, but what it actually depicts is only a figment of the artist's imagination, since neither of the men represented visited Japan.

⁸⁰ For more on *Drzeworyt Japoński* see the literature review in Chapter 1.

works by foreign artists: Odilon Redon, Koloman Moser and Aubrey Beardsley (fig. 355-356).

Apart from its visual aspect, *Chimera* was an example of Japonisme also from the viewpoint of its textual content. We have already mentioned Przesmycki's article on ukiyo-e. In its sixth issue of 1903, the future Nobel laureate Władysław Reymont published a lyrical fable based on the Japanese story of Gompachi and Komurasaki: Komurasaki. The Sorrowful Story of the Broken Porcelain Japanese Heart. Reviews of exhibitions of Japanese art were also included. Despite the fact that Feliks Jasieński was a regular reviewer for *Chimera*, his role there was to critique music and not art. Nonetheless, given his closeness to Przesmycki, it is almost a forgone conclusion that his expertise on Japanese art was relied upon in the process of conceiving consecutive issues of *Chimera*.

Collections of Japanese Art

Essential components of the infrastructure of Japonisme are collections of Japanese art. Jasieński's, discussed above, was the largest and most valuable among such collections in Poland. The next in importance was Stanisław Dębicki's collection in Lviv. Native to the city of Lviv in south-eastern Poland, he moved to Cracow in 1909 to take over the chair of religious and decorative painting at the Cracow Academy of Fine Arts, vacant after Wyspiański's death. Dębicki avidly collected Japanese woodblocks and often consulted Feliks Jasieński in matters of Japanese art.⁸¹

His collecting interests found reflection in his work, and in 1891 he painted two portraits of 'Japanese' women, but unfortunately they are lost today (Kossowski 1981). A third such portrait *Japanese Woman* (fig. 525) dates back to 1900 and depicts the artist's wife dressed in a red kimono placed against the white of the canvas. We know that around 1891 he painted *A Scene from Japan*, which is not extant and no reproduction of it survives (Kossowski 1981). In a series of self-portraits from 1900 Dębicki alluded to his fascination with Japan by placing a Japanese vase with dried flowers in the bottom corner (fig. 508). His allusion is strengthened by several Japanese-derived compositional ploys: elongated vertical format of the painting, asymmetrical position of the subject, truncated object at the bottom of the frame, and diagonally divided background. Dębicki's association with Japonisme is even more pronounced in *Reciprocal Portraits of Stanisław Dębicki and Damazy Kotowski* (1893)

⁸¹ Dębicki's collection of Japanese art will be discussed in the subchapter on Japanese art collections.

(fig. 509). Here, behind Dębicki, who is standing on the right, we see three Japanese woodblocks. Numerous letters to and from Jasieński are evidence of Dębicki's considerable knowledge of Japanese art.⁸²

Dębicki stated that in his collection of Japanese art he gave priority to such subjects as *kachô-ga*, landscape and heroes, but was less interested in the genre of *Bijin-ga*. Łukasz Kossowski reported that his search for it did not bring any results (Kossowski 1981), however, based on archival documentation such as Dębicki's correspondence held at the Princes Czartoryskis' Library in Cracow, press articles and contemporary art criticism, it has been possible to surmise information about the collection (Bednarska & Bednarski 2009, 78-80). It is likely that Dębicki was the only artist at the time in Poland who learned to read Japanese script. As his letters prove, if he did not actually master the Japanese language, he was at least capable of deciphering the characters for numerals and artists' signatures, which in turn allowed him to establish artistic lineages. We also learn from his correspondence with Jasieński about the well-planned organisation of purchasing and exchanging Japanese art pieces, in particular woodblock prints of which there are precise drawings in colour in some of the letters (fig. 357). Besides, we find out that Dębicki acquired an 'enormous' painting by Hokusai from 1850; and that he sold a group of prints to the Austrian Museum in Vienna, that in 1904 his collection numbered sixty-two prints. The size of his collection must have fluctuated but at some point it was significant enough for Przesmycki to rank it as second in the country (1901, 327). Judging by the content of other letters in which Dębicki makes offers of sale of tens of prints to, among others, Jasieński and Pankiewicz, we may conclude that his role was one of a dealer as much as collector. The mutual citations of full auction listings of woodblock print prices in the Dębicki-Jasieński correspondence prove that both were experts on Japanese art. Dębicki's efforts to go beyond purely visual perception of the Japanese woodblock and painting and to penetrate their deeper textual contents may have well given the reason for Przesmycki to declare:

It is Dębicki among our artist, who undoubtedly has learned the most from the Japanese. Learnt, rather than took from; he discovered their mystery of creation and was able to adapt it to entirely different subjects, and his totally different predisposition. His drawing is so advanced that it appears to be the result of a natural, innate reflex, his stains of colour surprising and capable of reaching volcanic frenzy of epic harmony. (1909, 249-250)

⁸² The correspondence between Dębicki and Jasieński is held at the Princes Czartoryskis Library in Cracow.

Jasieński's example as a collector of Japanese art became contagious for Polish artists. From extant documentation we know that Ruszczyc, Boznańska, Wyczółkowski and Weiss were just some among a large group that not only followed Manggha's example, but also used him as a dealer of ukiyo-e prints. Ruszczyc's collection, which included mainly Ichiryûsai Hiroshige's works, perished in flames in the artist's home in Vilnius during World War II. Wyczółkowski's collection was donated to the National Museum in Poznań, where it was decimated by the Nazi occupant. What remained of it was shown in the 2011 exhibition at Leon Wyczółkowski's Museum in Bydgoszcz. All we know about Boznańska's collection comes from her works featuring Japanese prints and other objects, but it is not enough to sketch even the faintest picture of the group. Jan Stanisławski is known to have collected a variety of Japanese utilitarian artefacts, as did his students Stanisław Kamocki and Ignacy Pieńkowski (Król 2007, 11). All Julian Fałat was allowed to bring from his sojourn in Japan in 1885 were only small items of decorative art and a large collection of photographs taken by him during the trip. It seems, however, that with his love of Japanese art, and among so many collectors of it within the Cracow Bohemian milieu, he probably also assembled some items.⁸³

As for Weiss's collection, considerably more is fact due to its existence at the home of the artist's granddaughters Renata Weiss and Zofia Nowina-Konopka (fig. 358-425). His collection of prints was examined by Małgorzata Martini (Martini 2008). It comprises sixty-nine prints from the last two decades of the 18th and 19th centuries, and reflects well the main types from that period. The artists represented are: Katsukawa Shunshô, Kitagawa Utamaro, Chôbunsai Eishi, Utagawa Toyokuni I, Kikugawa Eizan, Keisai Eisen, Hiroshige, Hiroshige II, Utagawa Kunisada, Toyohara Kunichika, Utagawa Kuniyoshi, Utagawa Yoshitora, Kawanabe Shôjô Kyôsei, Toyota Hokkei and Utagawa Kuninao. Besides ukiyo-e, Weiss collected other Japanese art pieces: porcelain and pottery, fans, textiles, katagami stencils, embroidered fabrics, parasols, and other objects.

Japanese art was the object of fascination not only among artists. Edward Goldstein (1844-1920), who had emigrated to Paris after the failure of the Polish January Uprising of 1863 and worked as an anthropologist at the Cernuschi Museum with a large collection of Chinese art, as well as a doctor, dabbled in art collecting. In 1909, he donated his collection of Chinese and Japanese art, mostly paintings and items of decorative art, to the National Museum in Cracow. Among the more interesting pieces in his sequest was *The Pictorial*

⁸³ It is important to stress that the two Japanese watercolours in the possession of the Museum in Bielsko-Biała included in the manggha exhibition and catalogue of Fałat's Japonisme, and displayed in the artists' mountain villa in Bystra were never owned by Fałat, and are the Museum's acquisitions from the 1970s.

Biography of the Zen Priest Dôgen (fig. 426-429) – a hanging scroll illustrating the life story of the Buddhist priest of the Kamakura period, the founder of the Sôtô sect of Buddhism. Although similar paintings depicting the lives of other Zen patriarchs were common in the history of Japanese art from the Middle Ages onwards, those of Dôgen appeared only in the first decades of the 19th century and are relatively rare (Splawski 2005). The National Museum in Cracow benefited also from the donations of Japanese art made by Ferdynand Kowarski (1909), who had stayed in Peking as the architect of its Austrian embassy; Antoni de Grubissich Keresztur (1913), who had been the Austro-Hungarian Consul General in Japan; and the Cracow mining engineer Erazm Barącz (1921) (Alber 1994, 9).

The National Museum in Poznań opened as such in 1882, held a significant group of Japanese art pieces, however during the two wars much of the collection was dispersed along with accompanying documentation (Kamińska 1970, 5). Judging by what survives of the collection today, one might speculate that Poznań before 1914 was home to relatively rare examples of early ukiyo-e by such artists as Okumura Masanobu, Nishikawa Sukenobu and Suzuki Harunobu.

Exhibitions of Japanese Art

First exhibitions of Japanese art in Poland appeared relatively late. Establishing knowledge about them is difficult due to severe lack of catalogues and other documentation. The first efforts to uncover their early history were made by Kossowski (1981). The first recorded such event took place in Lviv in January 1892. The exhibition featured Japanese and Chinese textiles, bronzes, ceramics and paintings from the collection of Duke Paweł Sapieha. Its review from contemporary press read:

Two ancient Japanese religious paintings, executed with poor brushstrokes, and three watercolours by the contemporary young Japanese painter Skasson⁸⁴, whose works prove that Japan is not a country of Apelleses⁸⁵, and that painterly mastery is still in embryonic stages. (Tygodnik Ilustrowany 1892)

Towards the end of 1900 the Krywult Salon in Warsaw organised an exhibition of Japanese woodblock of the cusp of the 18th and 19th centuries from the collection of Siegfried

⁸⁴ Kossowski makes a guess that the name Skasson refers to the Japanese artist Suzuki Kason (1860-1919).

⁸⁵ Apelles – a renowned painter of ancient Greece.

Bing. It displayed works by Torii Kiyonaga, Hokushin, Yoshiiku, Chôki, Hokusai and Utamaro. This first true encounter of the Polish public with Japanese woodblock received a favourable review from the critic Ignacy Matuszewski (1900). But this positive accent was soon overshadowed by an avalanche of scathing reviews in the wake of Jasieński's exhibition of Japanese woodblocks at the Zachęta Gallery of Art in Warsaw in February 1901.⁸⁶ His ostentatious departure for Cracow, where he was finally understood and his collection of Japanese art given due attention, failed to alter the attitudes of Varsovian critics. In 1902, Mathias Bersohn risked ridicule donating part of his collection of ukiyo-e to Zachęta Gallery which exhibited some of them the following year along with Japanese woodblock printed books. The outright arrogant press reviews dismissed the contents of the exhibition as ethnographic material unworthy of Zachęta (Kossowski 1981, 31; 2006, 33).

The xenophobic and chauvinistic reception of Japanese art in Warsaw in 1901 did not deter Jasieński from organising further exhibitions. On 27 October 1901, he launched a show of graphic art from his collection including Japanese prints at the Society of Friends of Fine Arts in Lviv (Stępień 1967, 57). On the eve of its vernissage Jasieński held a press conference, and on the 31st of the month he organised a conference for the public where he explained the aims and objectives of the exhibition (Tygodnik Ilustrowany 1901, 860). The enterprise must have been successful because the Society of Friends of Fine Arts welcomed another exhibition of graphic art from Jasieński's collection less than two months later (Stępień 1967, 58). This time, in December 1901, Jasieński showed to the Lvivians Max Klinger's etchings⁸⁷ and Japanese woodblock prints (Tygodnik Ilustrowany 1901, 913). The following year he mounted the first public show of Japanese art in Cracow (Zakrzewska 1967, 61). It was hosted by National Museum in Cracow and displayed at the Cloth Hall in The Market Square. The 600 sheets of ukiyo-e were hung by Jasieński himself (fig. 430) (Tygodnik Ilustrowany 1902, 78). The same year at the Society of Friends of Fine Arts in Cracow he put on display the paintings by Leon Wyczółkowski, Karol Tichy, Stanisław Dębicki and Damazy Kotowski, many of which bore Japanese inspirations (Tygodnik Ilustrowany 1902, 78). In 1904, at the Czapski Palace in Cracow the Polish Society of Applied Arts organised an exhibition of contemporary printed publications for which

⁸⁶ The negative reaction of the critics to the exhibition was voiced by, among others: Kaprys (W. Rabski) in 'Czy to krytyka?' (Is it critique?) published in *Kurier Warszawski* (Warsaw Courier), no. 103, 1901, 15 April, p. 5), by Pussari-Watan in 'U autora Mangghi' (With the author of Manggha) published in a supplement to the magazine *Kraj* (Country) entitled *Życie i sztuka* (Life and Art) (1901/28, p. 323) and by an anonymous author in 'P. F. Jasieński i publiczność' (Mr F. Jasieński and the Public) published in *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* (Illustrated Weekly) (1901, no. 19).

⁸⁷ Max Klinger (1857-1920) was one of Jasieński's more valued German artists known to have studied Japanese woodblock print (Streicher, 1977, 71).

Jasieński lent his works by William Morris, Walter Crane, Aubrey Beardsley and Katsushika Hokusai (Pollakówna 1967, 74). Despite no mention of Jasieński's 1906 exhibition at the Cracow Society of Friends of Fine Arts in the detailed chronology of Polish artistic life presented in *Polish Artistic Life 1890-1914*, we know that from the extant poster (fig. 431) that on that occasion Jasieński showed Japanese sculpture, paintings, prints, bronzes, enamels, embroideries, silk fabrics, lacquer, armour, and musical instruments. To Warsaw Jasieński did not return with his collection until 1913, when at the Zachęta Gallery he organised an exhibition of works by Utagawa Wakano (*Tygodnik Ilustrowany* 1913, 84-85).

Japonisme and Politics: The Polish Artistic Response to the Russo-Japanese War

The Russo-Japanese War and the Polish Question

On 8 February 1904, the Imperial Japanese Navy under Admiral Heihachiro Togo attacked the Russian Far East Fleet at Port Arthur on the Liaodong Peninsula in southern Manchuria. As Rosamund Bartlett has demonstrated, this highly unexpected blow to the Tsarist Empire paradoxically divided the Russian nation into proponents of Japonisme and Japanophobes (2008). While, on the one hand, it 'unleashed an immediate torrent of patriotic feeling against Japan' (Bartlett 2008, 8), on the other, it ran concurrently with events, such as the exhibition of Japanese woodblock prints held in St Petersburg in 1905, attesting to an 'intense enthusiasm for Japanese culture shown by members of the Russian artistic elite' (Bartlett 2008, 8-9). The reactions of the Russian-subjugated Poles were considerably less bipolar, if not entirely anti-Russian and pro-Japanese indeed. This conflict transformed Poland into a natural ally of Japan in the struggle against a common enemy – Russia. This fact of history had far-reaching consequences for the formation of the image of Japan and the Japanese in Polish national consciousness, and, in turn, for the development of Polish Japonisme. Within a mere three-year period between the Varsovian slight to Jasieński's enthusiastic display of Japanese art⁸⁸, and the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war, the Poles' vision of Japan progressed from an inferior, uncivilised and alien nation with abominable art to an honourable and illustrious source of inspiration for an improvement in Polish culture.

⁸⁸ These negative reactions were the result of Polish prejudices typical also of earlier Western European encounters with Japanese art.

Japan also became a contrasting point of reference for the political situation of Poland, a screen that contemporary problems were projected upon. The events surrounding the Russo-Japanese war provided a major stimulus for transforming Japan into ‘a source of actual and fictitious values that offered an alternative to unacceptable aspects of Polish culture and were a model worthy of emulation’ (Pałasz-Rutkowska 2004, 13). In brief, the war proved a powerful catalyst for the flourishing of the taste for Japanese art in Poland. This hiatus in the development of Polish Japonisme, first identified by Kossowski (1981), continued until the outbreak of World War I.

David Crowley has shown how the Russo-Japanese war served as a model for Polish militancy conceived as a step towards liberation from Russian occupation, identifying its reverberations in Polish art (2008). From the very beginning of the conflict Polish activists, students and ordinary citizens seized every opportunity to sabotage the Russian war effort (Blobsaum 1996, 45). In Radom, theatre performances whose proceeds were to be donated to the war effort were disrupted; pro-Russian demonstrations in Warsaw were boycotted by university students, and the homes of those Poles who complied with the support effort for Russia became victims of clandestine attacks by anarchists. Although Russian authorities responded with violent retribution, the Polish subversive spirit remained unabated due to the constant influx of news about a series of Japanese victories from the front. Demonstrations, strikes, boycotts, and even assassination attempts on representatives of the Russian regime followed. An obvious expression of solidarity with Japan was made manifest during a confrontation between the Russian police and Polish fighters in Grzybowski Square in Warsaw on 13 November 1904. The socialist activist Bolesław Berger assumed the alias ‘Kuroki’ as a token of affinity with the Commander in Chief of the Japanese First Army Count Tamesada Kuroki, whereas street demonstrators chanted ‘banzai’ – the Japanese exclamation of ‘hurrah’ (Kalabiński & Tych 1976, 55).

Józef Piłsudski and Roman Dmowski in Japan

The Russo-Japanese conflict presented prospects for Polish covert political parties. The two most prominent blocs at the time were: The Polish Socialist Party, and The National Democratic Party. The former recognised a historic opportunity in an alliance with Japan, whereas the latter, led by Roman Dmowski (1864-1939) (fig. 433) was concerned that, in the face of the Russian military prowess, Polish forces were inadequate in case of a confrontation. With this foreboding on his agenda, Dmowski travelled to Tokyo with the intention of dissuading the Japanese authorities from assistance in a potential insurrection in Russian

Poland (Pałasz-Rutkowska 2009, 43-69). The other party was headed by the future authoritarian leader of interwar Poland and a figure credited with regaining Poland's independence in 1918 – Józef Piłsudski (1867-1935) (fig. 432). His plan was to support the Japanese side in order to give history a push and gain an ally for his efforts to resurrect an independent Polish state (Blobaum 1996, 201). Piłsudski, just like his political archrival Dmowski, also went on a clandestine mission to Tokyo, except with a diametrically opposite objective in mind. Because both missions were intended to be carried out in secret, neither party was aware of the other's actions. The accidental meeting between the two leaders, which took place in the streets of Tokyo's Ueno on 11 July 1904, was indeed 'one of the strangest coincidences of Polish political history' (Crowley 2008, 55). Whereas Dmowski managed to secure Japan's abstinence from involvement with Polish revolutionaries, Piłsudski's gain was minimal: lessons in bomb-making given to Polish socialists by Japanese officers attached to the Japanese embassy in Paris (Ascherson 1987, 40).

It is important to remember that Piłsudski's brother Bronisław (1866-1918) (fig. 434) was also involved in the events of the Russo-Japanese war, albeit in a very different way. In 1887, he was banished to Sakhalin for his involvement in a plot to assassinate Alexander III of Russia. As a cultural anthropologist and the husband of Chufsanma – the daughter of an Ainu chief, with whom he had a son Sukezo and a daughter Kiyo, Bronisław Piłsudski carried out an outstanding research on the Ainu, recording their language for posterity. At the time of the Russo-Japanese war, as an employee of the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences, he faced the risk of hostilities from Japan. Having moved to Japan, he befriended Ōkuma Shigenobu, Futabei Shimei, Torii Ryūzō and Katayama Sen, and devoted himself to the cause of anti-Russian refugees in Japan.⁸⁹

The Boom in Literature on Japan

A clear rise in the demand for sources of knowledge on Japan at the time of the Russo-Japanese war was reflected in the number of publications that appeared during the war and in the years following it. The only pre-war Polish bibliography of works on Japan (Schreiber 1929) confirms that at the time of the Russo-Japanese war Polish Japonisme gathered momentum. The war itself became the subject of many publications, but because of fear of persecution from the Russian authorities, many of them were either anonymous or

⁸⁹ For more on Bronisław Piłsudski see: *Bronisław Piłsudski: badacz ludów Dalekiego Wschodu* (1990) exh. cat. Warsaw: Muzeum Azji i Pacyfiku.

published under pseudonyms: *Wojna rosyjsko-japońska w obrazach* (The Russo-Japanese War in Pictures) (1904), *Z powodu wojny obecnej myśli kilka* (Several Thoughts on the Present War) (1904), *Sprawa wschodnia. Zatareg japońsko-rosyjski* (The Eastern Matter. The Russo-Japanese Conflict) (Parvus 1904), *Jaki będzie koniec wojny rosyjsko-japońskiej* (What Will Be the Outcome of the Russo-Japanese War) (Oficer 1904), and *Historia wojny rosyjsko-japońskiej* (The History of the Russo-Japanese War) (Czechowski 1906).

Numerous translations of works on Japan by European and American authors were made at this time: *Listy z Japonii* (Letters from Japan) (1904) by Rudyard Kipling, *Japonia* (Japan) (1904) by Wilhelm Depping, *Współczesna Japonia* (Contemporary Japan) (1904) by Georges Weulersse, *Kokoro* (1906) by Lafcadio Hearn, and *Kobiety samurajskie* (The Women of the Samurai) (1905) by Alice Mable Bacon. Japanese works were translated indirectly from European languages into Polish: *Księga herbaty* (The Book of Tea) (1906) and *Przebudzenie się Japonii* (The Awakening of Japan) (1906) by Okakura Kakuzō, Namiko (1905) by Tokutomi Kenjiro, *Bushido* (1904) by Nitobe Inazō, and *Terakoya, czyli wiejska szkoła* (Terakoya, a Village School) (1905 and 1907) by Takeda Izumo. Theoretical, educational and general publications on Japan by Polish authors also appeared: *Japonia* (Japan) (1904) by Zygmunt Kłossnik, *Japonia i Japończycy* (Japan and the Japanese) (1904) by A. Okszyk, *Obrazki z Japonii* (Pictures from Japan) (1904) by Juliusz Starkel, *Japonia* (Japan) (1904) by Władysław Studnicki, and *Japonia. Państwo i prawo* (Japan. The State and the Law) (1905) by Stanisław Posner. Among Polish publications on Japanese literature released at the time were: *Historia literatury chińskiej i japońskiej* (A History of Chinese and Japanese Literature) (1901) by Adolf Julian Świąciecki, and *Literatura powszechna: literatura japońska* (World Literature: Japanese Literature) (1908) by Remigiusz Kwiatkowski.

Perhaps the most interesting type of publications from that time were the moralistic works on Japan meant as a sort of didactic lesson for the Polish nation. They focused on the portrayal of those virtues of the Japanese collective character that the authors recommended as examples for the Poles to follow. Pałasz-Rutkowska identified the *modus operandi* of these works in these words:

As a rule the idea was to make the Poles aware of their defects (taking as a model the virtues of the other, i. e., an unknown, or in the presence of the other), and to convince them to emulate foreign characteristics indicated as worthy of emulation. This in turn was supposed to improve the domestic situation in Poland or raise the international position of Poland in the world. These features were chosen or invented without any connection to Japanese reality. This approach was possible only because of the very limited, inaccurate knowledge about Japan in Poland. (2004, 8-9)

One such fabrication came from one of the most prominent Polish writers Bolesław Prus. In a series of articles under the title *Kroniki Tygodniowe* (The Weekly Chronicles) published in various newspapers and periodicals in the 1880s and 1890s Prus, relying on the earlier invention by Baron de Montesquieu, re-created the imaginary character of a Japanese who had allegedly written a report on Poland. The account was supposed to be full of negative comments on the vices of the Poles: poor hygiene, the tendency to indulge in carnival feasts, dislike of work, lack of enterprise, and the inability to draw correct conclusions from previous experiences (Pałasz-Rutkowska 2004, 9). In a passage from 1890, he praised Japan's ability to modernise rapidly:

My friend, the Japanese for several thousand years had been a very backward people. They had no locomotives, print or electricity...But twenty or thirty years ago they decided to become civilized as they achieved the goal...Today they have...everything that a civilized nation requires. Japan has realized...that they also need morality...Morality does not appear to them, unlike to our ultra-liberals, as something superfluous. (Prus 8 June 1890)

Prus returned to the moralistic proselytising in a series of articles entitled *Japonia i Japończycy* (Japan and the Japanese) published in *Kurier Codzienny* (Daily Courier) between 19 April and 30 June 1904, that is during the Russo-Japanese war (Prus 1904). This time he applauded those traits of the Japanese character that, in his opinion, helped them to defeat the Russians: valour, honour, personal dignity, spirit of sacrifice and obedience (Pałasz-Rutkowska 2004, 9). He also wrote on the subject in his later *Kroniki Tygodniowe*:

The Japanese have not only attracted attention thanks to their victories, but also thanks to their extraordinary merits, which even Russians admire in them. The opinion of a friend may be pleasant, but the respect of an enemy confirms the real values...Such a nation deserves not only a closer look, but must also serve as a model for study. (22 January 1905)

Political Satire and the Grotesque: The Japonisme of Witold Wojtkiewicz

The Russo-Japanese war caused a boom in publications on Japan in Poland. Not only was it the power of the written word but also of visual imagery that provided a commentary on the conflict. Among the many periodicals engaged in the anti-Russian propaganda was the

satirical *Liberum Veto*⁹⁰ founded by the above-mentioned expert on the Japanese theatre Jan August Kisielewski. In 1903, the Warsaw-born artist Witold Wojtkiewicz moved to Cracow where he began studies at the Academy of Fine Arts under Leon Wyczółkowski. He was a promising artist, whose work appealed to André Gide and Maurice Denis when exhibited at the Schulte Salon in Berlin in 1906. Months later Gide organised an exhibition of Wojtkiewicz's paintings at the Galerie Duret in Paris, for the catalogue of which he wrote an enthusiastic introduction (Gide 1907). In 1904, Wojtkiewicz was employed by *Liberum Veto* and in 1905 by *Hrabia Wojtek*⁹¹, for which he contributed drawings for the next two years (Muzeum Śląskie 1999). Many of them were critiques of the Russian conquest in East Asia, others criticised Russia's indifference to the fate of Polish and Jewish soldiers in the Russian army, and still others lamented the tragic consequences of the Russo-Japanese war (fig. 435-436) (Kozłowski 1986, 135-148). In *Glory*, he depicted a maimed one-legged soldier with a skull-like face and a medal on his chest. This poignant and eerie scene combines the grotesque with the sombre.

Wojtkiewicz's short-lived career peaked during the Russo-Japanese war and in the few years following it, before his death in 1909. *Glory* and *Funerary March* are not the best examples of his Japonisme, however. His Japanese inspirations have been recognised by Kossowski (1981) and Kossowska (2006), but a thorough analysis of Wojtkiewicz's Japonisme is still to come. Active in the life of the Green Balloon in Cracow, and a student of the Japoniste Wyczółkowski, Wojtkiewicz had sufficient contact with Japanese art in Cracow. His oeuvre has been likened to the work of Aubrey Beardsley, whose debt to Japan has also been acknowledged (Gertner Zatlin 1977, Berger 1980, 250-257). Although their approaches share the medium of drawn pure line, and the eccentricity of motifs evoking a world of bitter-sweet fantasy tainted with a hint of pessimism, in my view, Wojtkiewicz's Japonisme has more in common with the Japanese inspirations in the works of Odilon Redon and James Ensor.⁹² The inner turmoil reminiscent of the fatalistic symbolist plays of Maeterlinck and dominant in Wojtkiewicz's life is reflected in the nightmarish daemonic visions depicted in his works. The magical grotesquery is composed from motifs common in the oeuvres of both Redon and Ensor: skeletons, marionettes, puppets, Pierrots, masks, and other imaginative

⁹⁰ *Liberum Veto* was published between 1903 and 1905, first in Cracow and then in Lviv. It is regarded as a precursor of the Green Balloon with respect to the use of political and social satire and caricature.

⁹¹ *Hrabia Wojtek* (Count Wojtek) was a Cracow satirical political periodical published from 1905 to 1906.

⁹² For the discussion of Redon's Japonisme see Berger 1980, 170-172; and for Ensor's see the same source, 173-175.

creatures (fig. 437-448). As Wiesław Juszczak has pointed out, most of these works were created before Wojtkiewicz had the chance to see Ensor's work in Paris in 1907 (Juszczak 1965, 114), but the parallels can be explained by common sources of inspiration – Japanese art and Redon. Wojtkiewicz's caricature (fig. 451) reveals unmistakable Japanese sources in the ukiyo-e tradition of ghost imagery and in particular in Hokusai's representations of flying and incongruous heads (fig. 449-450, 453); as well as in Redon's works (fig. 452).

But Wojtkiewicz's Japonisme consisted in more than just the appropriation of motifs and the atmosphere of the supernatural or infernal. In *Two Children* (fig. 454) he employed a two-dimensional treatment of space made up of broad contrasting stains of subdued and saturated colour. The space is divided by irregular verticals which highlight this asymmetrical composition, whereas the delicate figures of children are set against a neutral background emphasising their pencil-drawn silhouettes. Here, the pictorial structure subscribes to the grammar of Japanese woodblock print. In other works, Wojtkiewicz employs a Japanese-derived compositional technique, whereby he juxtaposes areas of plain flat colour with patches of abstruse arabesques, convoluted circumflexes and intricate patterns. This clashing of the busy and the empty, which could be described as a marriage of *horror vacui* with *amor vacui* is characteristic of much of Japanese art. Another pictorial device borrowed by Wojtkiewicz from Japan, but also likely to have been seen in Ferdinand Hodler's work *Eurythmy* (fig. 455). The rhythmic order achieved by the use of multiple verticals of the repeated human figure. This design principle known as parallelism reached Hodler via Japanese examples (Berger 1980, 304). In an interview Holder explained the function of this device:

In many of my paintings I have chosen four or five figures to express one and the same emotion, because I know that the repetition of one and the same thing deepens the impression. I tend to choose five because the odd number enhances the organization of the painting and creates a natural centre into which I can concentrate the expression of all five figures... Clear forms, the simplest presentation, repetition of the motif. (Hodler 1904)

The very same year (1904), Wojtkiewicz painted *The Last Act* (fig. 444), a composition that makes use of the elongated, often silhouette-like figures reminiscent of Utagawa Toyokuni's actors (fig. 456). It is likely that Wojtkiewicz was familiar with the above-mentioned work by Hodler, who by 1904 had achieved a degree of popularity both in Austria and Germany. The same solution of rhythmic repetition of parallel figures was employed by Wojciech Weiss in several of his early works (fig. 109-110).

Kościuszkowski Mound as Mt Fuji: Stanisław Wyspiański's Landscapes

In the autumn of 1904, Stanisław Wyspiański, who was already terminally ill and did not leave his house in Krowoderska Street in Cracow, began creating a series of pastel drawings that captured views of the Kościuszkowski Mound seen in the distance from various windows of the artist's apartment (fig. 460, 462-468, and 470-477). The story of the conception of this group has been shrouded in contradictory accounts and semi-legendary tales (Król & Romanowicz 2007, 41). Based on Jasieński's own words in *Miesięcznik Literacki i Artystyczny* (1911, 410), it was him who gave the incentive to Wyspiański to take on the task of producing the series of landscapes. He called himself literally 'the godfather of the series'. It is also known that the politician Józef Piłsudski, who had travelled to Tokyo to secure Japanese help for an insurrection in Russian Poland, visited Wyspiański in March 1904 at the Krowoderska apartment (Crowley 2008, 56). The purpose of his visit was to involve the artist, who was a major authority for the Poles, in the anti-Russian and pro-Japanese campaign. Wyspiański, as a national bard and a playwright whose works revolved around the issue of Polish independence, was the right choice for the role of a catalyst for national armed uprising. What Piłsudski had in mind was:

(...) that the poet would impose certain ideas upon the nation, influence the morale of the people who were about to fight. (Romanowska 2002, 79)

Eventually, what came out of Piłsudski's appeal was a series of landscapes devoid of any immediately legible nationalistic iconography. One can speculate that in Piłsudski's opinion, the drawings were inadequate for the purpose because they lacked an easily discernible lofty rhetoric and pathos required for such a momentous occasion. In fact, these images contain the representation of a powerful national symbol: Kościuszkowski Mound (fig. 457-458). Modelled on Cracow's ancient mounds of Krak and Wanda and completed in 1823, this man-made mound was erected by Cracovians in commemoration of General Tadeusz Kościuszkowski (fig. 459), a national hero of Poland, Lithuania, Belarus, Australia and the USA.⁹³ How could Piłsudski not have realised Wyspiański's gesture of making this emotionally charged symbol the main focus of the series? Crowley has suggested that by the time of the Russo-Japanese war the Mound had lost some of its potency as a national emblem due to

⁹³ Kościuszkowski (1746-1817) actively participated in the American Revolutionary War, during which Thomas Jefferson called him 'as pure a son of liberty as I have ever known'. Following the Second Partition of Poland in 1793, Kościuszkowski led the national uprising of 1794, uniting all strata of Polish society to whom he became a symbol of national sovereignty.

being obstructed by fortifications built by the Austrian authorities who devoted them to barracks for the Austrian army (2008, 60).

Just as Piłsudski had missed the point of Wyspiański's intentions, future art historical interpretations of these works varied dramatically, often entirely ignoring their nationalistic aspect and their connection to Japanese art. Zdzisław Kępiński accounted for the series in terms of a sort of a memento mori created in expression of the artist's immanent death (1984, 164-169). Wojciech Bałus also rejected their patriotic reading, ascribing them to a creative solution for being confined to the artist's home, a result of a spiritual yearning and the tension resulting from confinement (2002, 160). That the series did not appeal to contemporary public at an exhibition at the Cracow Society of Fine Arts in 1905, we know from various sources. Arnold Schiffman wrote:

This year we saw for the first time in an exhibition of the Cracow Society of Fine Arts Wyspiański's sequence of landscapes (*Kopiec Kościuszki*) – a work of unusual nature. Unfortunately, they were misunderstood. For some, the Mound was crooked, for others the rails were so badly drawn that derailment would have been certain, and still others said that repeating the same theme many times, even if in varying conditions, proves artistic limitation (1905).

Agnieszka Morawińska's interpretation brought into the equation a philosophical-historical dimension:

A closer look at the preserved pictures of the series and the circumstances of its creation will make it possible to propose a thesis that the *Views of Kościuszko Mound from the Artist's Study Window* are philosophical-historical landscapes, showing – through the specificity of landscape – the idea of a pattern in Polish history. Far from any allegoric representation of history, these landscapes contribute to the creation of symbolism without symbols, so characteristic of our paintings. (1990, 201)

In another article, Morawińska, by quoting a description of the series by a contemporary observer, makes a connection between the landscapes and 'subtle Japanese silk screens' (1987, 57-77). This observation was correct with the exception of the association with silk screens. Kossowski made a more accurate connection with Japanese woodblock print (1981 & 1996, 309). However, as early as the time of their creation the series was likened to Japanese art by one of Wyspiański's students Tymon Niesiołowski, who noted the following after seeing them in Wyspiański's study:

Rendered in rugged colourful line, they make up a whole resembling the synthetic Japanese landscapes. (1932)

How Japanese was the series? The answer stems from the analysis of what survives of the group. Neither the exact number of the series (two or three) nor the total number of drawings (between twenty and forty) is known today. Anna Król provided a detailed discussion of the make-up of the series in the catalogue of the first exhibition to have brought the extant pieces together (Król & Romanowicz). The exhibition showed nine horizontally aligned works (fig. 460, 462-468, 470) and seven vertical compositions (fig. 471-477). While parallels between the series and Katsushika Hokusai's *Thirty-Six Views of Mount Fuji* (fig. 461, 469) have been drawn (Król 2007, Crowley 2008), Kossowski made an interesting juxtaposition of Wyspiański's vertical takes on the subject and Utagawa Hiroshige's prints: from the series *One Hundred Famous Views of Edo*, *Towboats Along the Yotsugi-dôri Canal* (fig. 478) and *Suruga-chô* (fig. 479); and a print from *Famous Views of the Sixty-odd Provinces*, *A Storm in the Yamabushi Valley in the Province of Mimasaka* (fig. 480). This comparison makes clear that these two groups share more than superficial characteristics. The identical formats, the positioning of the peaks of Mount Fuji and Kościuszko Mound in the distance in the upper register of the picture plane, elevated vantage point, shift of the main motif towards the frame of the picture, dramatic foreshortening, bold diagonals dominating the compositions and a heightened sense of atmospheric drama seem to be conclusive enough as proofs of Wyspiański's familiarity with Hiroshige's works. Most of these compositional ploys were also employed by Hokusai in his depictions of Japan's sacred mountain; however, all original thirty-six plates as well as the additional ten images in *Thirty-Six Views of Mount Fuji* are horizontally aligned. Hiroshige's series features only vertical cadres. Wyspiański's extant examples include both types, which makes it possible to propose that Hokusai's and Hiroshige's prints provided prototypes for Wyspiański's horizontal and vertical compositions respectively.

In addition, Wyspiański's favourite medium of pastel enabled him to infuse these images with a vibrant line reminiscent of East Asian calligraphy. Furthermore, his synthetic, laconic approach to landscape, at times even eliminating the central motif, brings these works even closer to the minimalist principle underlying much of Japanese art. Not only is the series an example of Japonisme based on the allegorical connection between the two spiritual sites in Poland and Japan, and from the viewpoint of artistic methods employed, but also in the context of the circumstances in which it came about.

Besides the Kościuszko Mound, there is another important Polish national symbol which at the time of the Russo-Japanese war became an object of Japonisme. On 30 May 1905, Franz Joseph I of Austria ordered his army to leave the Royal Castle in Cracow situated on the Wawel hill and towering above the city (Michałowski 1997, 54). The site had served them as barracks since 1846 and as a result of that, it suffered from neglect and dilapidation. The return of the complex to the nation was the result of a long campaign by Poles to whom, especially during the stateless existence, it embodied Poland's past glory. Wawel (fig. 483) is the Polish 'Acropolis' where most of Polish kings and queens lived, were coronated and buried. In the 19th century, it became the resting place for national heroes, including Tadeusz Kościuszko. Franz Joseph's gesture was seen as a harbinger of approaching independence and was received with enthusiasm. The problem of renovation of the holy site became one of the most talked about issues not only in Cracow but also in other parts of the still partitioned Poland (Kuczman, Fabiański & Reklewska 2005). Both among the members of the Restoration Committee and Cracow artistic circles a multitude of visions surfaced. In October 1905 the 'Green Balloon' at the Jama Michalika⁹⁴ devoted one of its theatrical evenings to a satirical session on the different conceptions of the restoration of Wawel. Among the parodies of fictional projects drawn and painted by Karol Frycz, Kazimierz Sichulski (fig. 481), Stanisław Kamocki and Alfons Karpiński were designs in the socialist, Art Nouveau, and the Zakopane styles (Górska & Lipiński 1977, 138-139; Janczyk 2005, 238-249).

Karol Frycz contributed a humorous design of Wawel à la japonaise according to Feliks Manggha Jasieński (fig. 482). This Japanese vision of Wawel brought together everything that an average Pole of the day associated with Japan, rather than reflected a genuine architectural Japanese programme or a consistent iconographical system (Janczyk 2005, 242). The castle and the cathedral are covered with oriental roofs and adorned with pagodas topped with Japanese-like flags. In the foreground our attention is drawn to a sumptuous fantastical phoenix amidst motifs borrowed from Japanese art: chrysanthemums, pine trees and a cherry or apple tree in blossom. The scene is set against a sky divided into two registers resembling a convention from ukiyo-e, whereby the top section the sky was executed with Prussian blue and gradually faded into a more neutral colour, in emulation of the Japanese woodblock printing technique bokashi (Salter 2001, 102). The giant rising sun is also symbolic of Japan, popularly known as the Land of the Rising Sun. In the upper left

⁹⁴ For more on Jama Michalika see the subchapter 'Michalik's Den Cafè and Green Balloon Cabaret'.

corner, Frycz placed a cherry branch in blossom, and to the left of it a red cartouche styled on vertical inscriptions from Hiroshige's prints. This one reads 'Wawel Mangi' (Manggha's Wawel). It is significant that among the various projects, apart from the Japanese one, there were no other designs representing a particular national culture, whether European or other. David Crowley's interpretation of this work links it directly with the contemporary upsurge in interest in Japan and Japanese art at the time of the Russo-Japanese war, but also considers it in the context of Jasieński's conception of Polish national art as inspired by Japan; and points to the phoenix as a relevant emblem of resurrection (1996, 110-111).

Irregardless of the satirical nature of Frycz's pastel and its humorous tone dictated by the larger project by the Green Balloon, it is remarkable that the ultimate symbol of Polishness and the embodiment of the entire course of Polish history – the Wawel hill in Cracow, with the residence of Polish monarchs and the adjacent cathedral containing the tombs of kings, queens, saints and national heroes; a tangible enclave of sovereignty at the time of subjugation – was represented or even imagined as foreign. It is all the more remarkable that it was Japaneseness that was projected onto Polishness, especially when one recalls that a mere four years earlier, Japan and its art were virtually unknown in Poland, and the pioneering exhibitions of Japanese art mounted by Jasieński and others were generally badly received. Most likely, Frycz's Japanese 'caricature' of Wawel was received with a pinch of salt by the public, and probably even by the Japanophile regulars at Jama Michalika, but it reflected the seriousness of Jasieński's intentions to construct Polish national identity rooted in Japanese models, as well as his struggle to launch Polish national style in art, one that in his view should be unmistakably Polish, but akin to the Japanese artistic worldview in a number of ways.

A Scandal in Paris: Bolesław Biegas

The echoes of the Russo-Japanese war were also heard in Paris. In 1907, the Polish sculptor-turned-painter Bolesław Biegas exhibited a group of paintings at the Société des Artistes Indépendants, one of which seemed to be the odd one out. While the other works were essentially Symbolist, *The Russo-Japanese War* (fig. 484) was categorised by Xavier Deryng as 'political painting' (1992). It depicted the Russian Tsar Nicolaus II and the Japanese Emperor Matsuhito engaged in a judo fight trampling human skulls, surrounded by a group of rulers and heads of state against the background of classicistic architectural ruins. It would have most likely passed unnoticed, had it not been for the fact that the protagonists were depicted as naked. To add to the shock of the viewer, the painting was very large. It

caused a major scandal which was blown up to even bigger proportions by the press, and eventually the police removed it from the display. Deryng discerned in this painting the first example of 'le tableau politique' or political painting (Deryng 1992), but as Ewa Bobrowska-Jakubowska remarked, all historical painting is in essence political (1997, 57). The novelty of the Russo-Japanese War, in her view, consisted in the introduction of political satire into painting.

The Renaissance of Polish Japonisme 1901-1918

The Japanese Artefact: Japonaiserie and Still Life à la japonaise

The distinction between 'Japonisme' and 'Japonaiserie' as 'the incorporation into western art of devices of structure and presentation which match those found in actual Japanese works' and 'a means of interest in Japanese motifs because of their decorative, exotic or fantastic qualities' respectively, made by Mark Roskill (1970, 57) was proved erroneous on the basis of the historical usage of these two terms (Watanabe 1991, 14-15). These definitions were then reformulated by Toshio Watanabe:

If there is a distinction, one might say that 'Japonaiserie' is mostly used in connection with actual Japanese objects, motifs and works of art, while 'Japonisme' as we saw in Burty's use of it, rather means a pro-Japan attitude and its manifestation in the West. (1991, 15)

In accordance with such an understanding of these categories, this entire thesis is concerned with Japonisme, whereas this particular section of it deals with Japonaiserie, which essentially is a narrower designation and constitutes a sub-category of Japonisme.

Along with the influx of Japanese woodblock prints, paintings, books and sculptures to Europe during the second half of the 19th century, a wide range of Japanese decorative objects of art were imported too. Between 1867 and 1888 Parisian department stores were inundated with oriental bibelots such as kimonos and other garments, porcelain and other ceramics, chests, boxes, fans and many other curiosities (Berger 1980, 67). Department stores in Paris and later in London and other large European cities catered to the needs of bourgeois households and fashion-conscious ladies whose indulgence in Japonaiserie had become a measure of social status. This trend reached Poland considerably later and on a much smaller

scale. Nonetheless, the use of Japanese artifacts in Polish Modernist painting matched Western European counterparts both in quantity and artistic quality.

The inclusion of Japanese objects in paintings, which in Western Europe was often a prelude to more profound adaptations of Japanese aesthetics, although not so in the case of for example Whistler (Watanabe 1991, 228-235), in general functioned within a different dynamic in Polish art. Kossowski noted that Japanese inspirations in Polish Modernism assumed a very specific nature (1981). They were more complex, often more profound and most certainly more difficult to identify. They were often the results of the artists' contacts not with Japanese art but with Western European works which had drawn on Japanese sources. This frequently secondary character of Polish Japonisme supposedly should not be of relevance in those cases where Japonisme consists in the use of oriental objects as opposed to other forms of iconographical borrowings or formal adaptations from Japanese art. In other words, a Japanese object within a Polish painting, even if incorrectly understood, would be easily recognisable as such, and therefore the work would be identifiable as Japonisme. The majority of Polish artists who created under the spell of Japanese art did so relatively late in comparison with their Western European counterparts, and by that time they had been aware of the history of Japonisme and the criticism 'shallow' Japanese inspirations received. To avoid the pitfall of potential superficiality Polish artists often resorted to an ulterior agenda latent in examples of Japoniserie.

Józef Mehoffer's *Europa jubilans* (1905) (fig. 485) at first glance appears to be a randomly juxtaposed conglomeration of Japanese motifs. Its central protagonist – a maid – is placed in a room filled with ornamental detail to such an extent that one critic discerned in this picture Mehoffer's weakness for horror vacui (Pawlińska 2006, 72). The objects are: three Buddhist sculptures, a row of oriental Majolica figurines, a Japanese bronze sculpture, complete samurai armour, and a sumptuous fabric lining the back wall and another covering the bed. All these objects came from Feliks Jasiński's collection. As the title of the work implies, the smiling almost triumphant but by definition vulgar maid is a personification of Europe. Seemingly the picture is a continuation of a long tradition of depictions of western women who are exoticised by making a connection with the material culture of Japan. The eerie armour with its helmet tilted to the side appears to be grinning as if in an act of mockery directed at the arrogant maid. Wyspiański's disparaging comments on the contemporary 'blind' following to Japonisme were already addressed in Chapter II. In *Europa jubilans*, Mehoffer criticised such tendentiousness in art. Mehoffer's intention was to ridicule the superficial mass following of the Japanese craze, a sardonic comment on the vulgarisation of the taste for Japanese art manifest in the democratisation of Japonisme. The painting is in fact also a critique of the uninformed use of Japoniserie by western artists and acts of

misappropriation, but also, to a degree, a rebuke of Japonisme in general. Similar ironic attitude characterised the enfant terrible of Polish Modernism Feliks Manggha Jasiński, who was often seen in public attired in a ludicrous combination of a helmet from a samurai's armour and a woman's kimono. The hidden tension underlying Mehoffer's painting was conveyed by the artist's wife Jadwiga:

The meaning of this work remains troublingly ambiguous and, as one commentator noted, perhaps lies hidden in the unsettling relationship between the arrogant title and the unsettling scene. (Kossowski 1981)

This allegoric reading of the painting was not readily legible even to some Cracow artists. The artist Karol Frycz must have taken this work for a very belated and lame example of the first wave of Japonisme, and in the satirical catalogue of the IX exhibition of Sztuka, published by Zielony Balonik placed a spiteful pastiche of it under the title: Much Ado About Nothing: Europa Nonsens (fig. 486). Frycz's satirical scene was accompanied by a vicious poem in which he criticised Mehoffer's art making process by comparing it to the alchemist's arbitrary procedures.

In Western Europe, Japanese motifs became necessary attributes of a particular type of portrait. The sitter surrounded by Japanese accessories, such as woodblock prints, paintings, books, parasols or fabrics, was defined by means of this association as either an admirer of Japanese art or as someone who was abreast with the modes of the day. Whereas in Western Europe such statements of cultural allegiance frequently featured the sitter enclosed by a crowded assemblage of Japonaiserie (fig. 494-495), in Poland such types were very rare, if not in fact non-existent. Rather, the tendency was to include one or two Japanese accents reserving priority for the portrait's main subject. This formula was often employed by Boznańska (fig. 78-79, 88, 91, 102); but also by Józef Pankiewicz in the portraits of Feliks Jasiński (fig. 492)⁹⁵ and Wojciech Biesiadecki (fig. 496); Wyczółkowski in Jasiński's portrait (fig. 497) and his self-portrait (fig. 503); Stanisław Lentz (fig. 4507), Dębicki, Weiss, and others. The photograph taken in Pankiewicz's studio at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts (fig. 493) shows Jasiński's portrait still on the easel and next to it the grand piano above which a Japanese woodblock hangs on the wall. This is the cropped Japanese accent in Jasiński's portrait, originally included in full before the artist recut the canvas to augment the composition. Wyczółkowski's portrait of Jasiński bears resemblance to *The Japanese Woodcut* (fig. 498) by William Merritt Chase in its triangular construction of the seated figure

⁹⁵ We know that the cropped picture on the wall is a Japanese woodblock print from an extant photograph showing the setting with the print in full (fig. 426).

and the fact that both sitters hold Japanese images in their hands. Such commissions were often made by members of high society. Equally frequently, Polish artists depicted themselves or had themselves painted by others as aficionados of all things Japanese and Chinese, whether in photography or painting: Boznańska (fig. 80), Dębicki (fig. 508-509), Weiss (fig. 151), Włodzimierz Błocki (fig. 515) and Wyczółkowski (fig. 501-503). The largest and undoubtedly the most interesting sub-category of portrait *à la japonaise* are the paintings, drawings and caricatures of Feliks Jasieński. It is not an exaggeration to say that nearly all Polish painters of stature in the first two decades of the 20th century represented Jasieński. He sat numerous times for Wyczółkowski, and at least once for Boznańska (fig. 505), Pankiewicz, Sichulski (fig. 512), Malczewski (fig. 506), Dębicki, Karol Tichy, Konrad Krzyżanowski, Mehoffer, Damazy Kotowski, Zofia Stryjeńska, Teodor Grott (fig. 1625), Małgorzata Łada-Maciągowa (fig. 1626), Weiss, Irena Weiss, Konstanty Laszczka and many others. Many of these representations contain Japanese quotations in the form of prints, textiles, porcelain, Buddhist statues (fig. 504), and other objects. Only some of these objects are precisely identifiable as for example Kameyama yuki bare (fig. 499) held by Jasieński in Wyczółkowski's painting (fig. 497).

Another type of directly 'quoted' Japonisme were the very much favoured in Poland pictures of women dressed in kimono and accompanied by Japanese or Chinese accessories. Before 1900 this theme was taken up by Andrzej Jerzy Mniszech (fig. 29), Maurycy Gottlieb (fig. 32), Anna Bilińska-Bohdanowicz (fig. 81), Fałat (fig. 56-57), Boznańska (fig. 79-80, 88, 93), Weiss (fig. 83), Dębicki (fig. 525), Wyczółkowski (fig. 82), and Okuń (fig. 84). After 1900 the subject of 'the Japanese woman' as they were collectively known, even though the sitter was never actually Japanese, continued to be popular. They featured in works by Boznańska (fig. 518), Teodor Axentowicz (fig. 517, 519), Włodzimierz Błocki (fig. 521), Erwin Czerwenka (fig. 516), Alfons Karpiński (fig. 1467), Roman Kramsztyk (fig. 1458), Adolf Milich (fig. 1460), Wojciech Weiss (fig. 520), Stanisław Bohusz Siestrzeńcewicz (fig. 522), Maria Koźniewska (fig. 527), Józef Puacz (fig. 526), and a lost male version by Franciszek Żmurko. The theme would also resurface in the interwar period in paintings by Leon Kowalski (fig. 1627), Aleksander Augustynowicz (fig. 1638), Irena Weiss (fig. 1628), Wilhelm Henryk Czarnecki (fig. 1630), Axentowicz (1635-1636, 1642), Zofia Stryjeńska (fig. 1637), Bruno Schulz (fig. 1641), Wojciech Weiss (1640) and Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz (fig. 1629). This type would occasionally appear even after 1945 (fig. 1639).

Perhaps the most renowned composition of this kind was painted by Józef Pankiewicz. *A Japanese Woman* (1908) (fig. 529), for which the artist's wife sat, was created in Pankiewicz's studio at the Academy of Fine Arts in Cracow (fig. 528). The model is clad in a kimono from Jasieński's collection (fig. 536), in fact, the one Jasieński wore himself, and

her coiffure is styled on examples from Japanese woodblock prints. The other props, including a lacquer table, vase, traditional Japanese geta footwear, and a Japanese screen also came from Jasieński (fig. 534-538). There is another version of this painting (fig. 533) from which the artist removed the shoes, but instead placed a mirror in his wife's hand. The reflection in the mirror is reminiscent of that in Ślewiński's work (fig. 48), as well as ukiyo-e prints of women gazing at their mirror images. A third variation on the theme (fig 532), lost today, depicted Jadwiga Pankiewicz in front of a framed wall mirror. The latter version corresponds in turn to Alfred Stevens' composition *The Japanese Dress* (fig. 531).

Among Polish works that incorporate Japanese artefacts, Pankiewicz's are the finest. In the 1880s, it was him who with his friend Władysław Podkowiński brought Impressionism to Poland following a long stay in Paris. Pankiewicz's Japonisme was nourished on multiple stimuli. His first encounter with the Japanese craze took place in Paris in the 1880s where in 1889 at Galerie Goupil in Montmartre Theo van Gogh introduced him and Podkowiński to Impressionist paintings (Charazińska 2006, XLVII). As is commonly known Vincent's brother was in possession of hundreds of Japanese prints, and it is likely that Pankiewicz saw them at the same time together with Impressionist art. However, neither the Japanese aesthetics nor themes seem to have found their way into his art until 1906.

First tangible Japanese inspirations in Pankiewicz's painting surfaced in the wake of the Russo-Japanese war and under the direct influence of his close friend – Feliks Jasieński. In 1905 at the instigation of Jasieński, Pankiewicz was hired by Fałat for a teaching post at the Cracow Academy of Fine Arts and moved that year from Paris to Cracow (Dmochowska 1963, 13-17). We do not know when he started collecting Japanese art, but we have evidence that Pankiewicz's Cracow apartment in Basztowa Street, just meters away from the Academy, was adorned with Japanese prints by Hokusai, Utamaro and Sharaku as early as 1906 (Dmochowska 1963, 33). As his daughter wrote in a collection of memories of her father, between 1906 and 1914 that flat was an important centre of Cracow social life, frequented by many notable figures of the time. In the memoirs she reminisced on the events held there:

The subjects of their debates were: music, painting, literature, travel Japanese woodblock prints, Eastern textiles, and Persian faience – indeed the essence of *Promenade à travers les mondes, l'art et les idées*. This is the title of the nearly one-thousand page long book by Jasieński written in French and published under the nom de plume Félix. This title stuck to Jasieński and became his middle name. (Dmochowska 1963, 35)

In 1906, Pankiewicz created two still life compositions made up solely of Japanese artefacts on loan from Jasieński's collection: *Still Life. Buddha with a Branch of Mimosa* (fig. 544) and *Buddha and Boule de Nieve* (fig. 542). Both feature the same religious item (zushi)

in the form of a Buddhist altar case with a statue of Jizô Bosatsu, one of the most loved Japanese divinities (fig. 545). The deity – the guardian of expectant mothers, children, firemen, travellers and pilgrims – is instantly recognizable as a monk wearing a simple robe, (unlike most other bodhisattvas dressed like Indian royalty), shaved head, a wish-fulfilling gem in his left hand, a wish-granting shaft (shakujô) in the right, halo around his head, and placed on a lotus base and one foot slightly forward to indicate that he is walking in this world. Such miniature shrines were used in Japan either for home rituals or as travelling devotional pieces. Besides the shrine, these paintings by Pankiewicz's show a Japanese Arita porcelain dish in the Kakiemon style, a robust Japanese stoneware vessel with white gillyflowers, and a sumptuous oriental fabric.

In 1907, Pankiewicz made another painting in the same vein *Still Life with A Blue Vase* (fig. 541), this time assigning the central role to the Kakiemon plate from the 1906 work. The plate shares its focus with a book of Japanese woodblock prints and a Persian albarello vase, all of which sit on a patterned oriental throw. Apart from the fact that a framed Japanese woodblock in the upper left corner is cropped, this still life follows the pictorial principles appropriate to academic art: conventionality and centrality of composition, highly polished surface with well blended brushstrokes, traditional combination of subdued colours, and the chiaroscuro enhancing its three-dimensional depth. As such this work has a lot in common with early examples of Japonisme in Western Europe. One thing makes it more unusual – it is a still life.

Although Japanese *objects d'art* were commonly represented in the 1870s through 1890s, they invariably existed within genre scenes or portraiture. It is remarkable that major sources of Japonisme imagery (Wichmann 1980, Berger 1980, Lambourne 2005, Meech-Pekarik & Weisberg 1991, Satô & Watanabe 1991, Watanabe 1990, Wiesinger 1994) include very few such still lifes: *Chinoiserie* by James Ensor (fig. 555), *Still Life with Japanese Print* by George Leslie Hunter, and *Flowers and fruit (Japanese Background)* (fig. 556) by Samuel John Peploe. Other examples of this type include paintings by Renoir (fig. 550), Gauguin (fig. 551), Fantin-Latour (fig. 554), Lovis Corinth (fig. 553), Charles Coenraets (fig. 552), and Gwen John (fig. 549).

In Poland, however, the still life *à la japonaise* appears to have been much more popular. Because the discussed still lifes by Pankiewicz are not the only such representations in his oeuvre, and in Polish art for that matter, but rather they exist in abundance; and because they are comparatively less common in Western European and American art, still life *à la japonaise* may be classed as a distinctive trait of Polish Japonisme. Other notable examples of this type in Pankiewicz's work are *Persian Vase* (fig. 547), *Still Life with Fruit and an Oriental Plate* (fig. 548) and *Still Life with a Lacquer Case* (fig. 546). Many more Japanising

still lifes, often featuring katagami in windows, were painted by Wyczółkowski (fig. 557-558, 561-562, 564-574, 586).

Mehoffer's notable contribution to this take on the genre includes *Trinkets on the Mantelpiece* (fig. 599). Its central motif is a copper candlestick in the form of a heron atop a tortoise (*tsurukame shokudai*). It was a popular ornament symbolising eternal youth, and used mainly as temple decoration by the New Sect of the Pure Land since the Muromachi Period. Mehoffer owned such a candlestick, which still adorns the Japanese room in his Cracow house. It is likely that he obtained it from Jasieński, whose collection included a similar piece (fig. 598). Mehoffer's Japonisme went further than the straightforward use of Japanese props. In his portraits, a consistently striking feature is a preference for intricately patterned areas in the pictorial space. Lavishly ornamented backdrops, curtains, carpets and clothing are strongly evocative of ukiyo-e imagery, but in his case they are usually composed of more subdued shades, which are typical of Japanese textiles from Jasieński's collection. His reliance of the energetic supple line, in the role of contour, brings Mehoffer's works closer to both Wyspiański's painting and Japanese art. In Mehoffer's Museum arranged in his house in 1996 there is a Japanese room in which what remains of his collection of Japanese art has been displayed.

Other examples representing the still life *à la japonaise* include works by Ślewiński (fig. 578), Henryk Szczygliński (fig. 595), Boznańska (fig. 1405-1410), Stefan Filipkiewicz (fig. 577, 579-581, 583-585, 587-593), Gustaw Gwozdecki (fig. 600), Eugeniusz Zak (fig. 576), Tadeusz Makowski (fig. 575), Weiss (fig. 594), Henryk Mikolasch (fig. 559), and Włodzimierz Błocki (fig. 582), Józef Wodziński (fig. 601), Max Weber (fig. 596), Roman Kochanowski (fig. 563), and Władysław Majewski (fig. 597). This trend would become equally popular in the interwar period.

In 1908, Pankiewicz was introduced by Félix Fénéon to Pierre Bonnard (Czapski 1936, 88; Dmochowska 1963, 91). All three were associated with the *La Revue Blanche* circle, whose muse and co-editor was Misia Godebska-Natanson-Sert, the daughter of a Polish émigré in Paris. Misia married another Polish émigré Thadée Nathanson, the director of *La Revue Blanche*. Pankiewicz's relationship to Bonnard went far beyond an acquaintance. Their close friendships lasted till the end of their lives in the 1940s, their wives became confidants and the four spent holidays together in St Tropez, the artists shared a studio there for a while and helped each other in times of financial hardship. Martha Bonnard was painted by Pankiewicz in 1910, Bonnard painted Pankiewicz and his own wife in *Conversations provençales* (fig. 603), and correspondence between the four survives (Dmochowska 1963). Félix and Fanny Fénéon were also part of this circle.

Pankiewicz's Japonisme manifested itself best in literal allusions to Japan, which intensified after he met Bonnard. The natural conclusion would be that Bonnard, as 'le Nabi très japonard', ignited his taste for Japanese art. But Bonnard's Japonisme did not involve incorporating Japanese objects into his paintings as much as it consisted in using the graphic structure of Japanese art as a point of reference (Berger 1980, 215). So where was the point of intersection between the Japanese inspirations of these two artists? When one juxtaposes Japanese Woman (fig. 529) with Bonnard's paintings from 1891: The Morning Gown (fig. 604) and the four-part composition Women in the Garden (fig. 605-608), the relay of influences becomes clear. While Bonnard drew inspiration for these paintings from the works of the early Japanese 'primitives' of ukiyo-e, Pankiewicz's Japanese Woman was in turn an interpretation of Bonnard's depictions. Pankiewicz borrows Bonnard's recourse to richly orchestrated combinations of colours, the back view of the figure, abrupt overlappings, the fragmentary quality of flat stains of colour, the elongated format of the painting, and the self-contradictory approach combining a sense of recession with the flatness of the surface. Here Bonnard's Japonisme revolves in the sphere of formal adaptations from Japanese art, whereas Pankiewicz's is the result of both the use of Japanese formal features and direct thematic quotations of Japanese motifs. Pankiewicz would subsequently make formal allusions to Japanese Woman in A Woman Combing in Front of the Mirror (fig. 609) and A Cup of Tea – a Visit (fig. 610).

But was that all that Pankiewicz learned from Bonnard's own Japanese lessons? Existing studies of Bonnard's Japonisme (Perucchi-Petri 1976, Weisberg 1975, Berger 1980) illuminate the various aspects of his application of Japanese artistic methods, but one important point seems to be missing from them. Colourism, as a trend in art in which colour was considered the main means of expression with the simultaneously diminished role of form and line, was to become Bonnard's credo. Traditionally, his passion for colour is explained by the impact of the sunny Midi⁹⁶, but the significance of the Japanese woodblock print for this development in Bonnard's art has been only cursorily acknowledged by Nicholas Watkins (1998, 34-38)⁹⁷. The importance of establishing this link is relevant for Pankiewicz's Japonisme, as he was the founder of Polish Colourism. The movement was widely popular in the 1930s, and Pankiewicz is credited with transplanting it to Poland, and

⁹⁶ Bonnard claimed that the transition in his career to an art of colour came with the experience of the Mediterranean light at Saint-Tropez. (Vaillant 1966, 115; Watkins 1997, 59-63).

⁹⁷ Talking about the 1890 exhibition of Japanese woodblock prints and illustrated books at the École des Beaux-Arts, Bonnard confessed: 'I realised that colour could express everything, as it did in this exhibition, with no need for relief or texture. I understood that it was possible to translate light, shape and character by colour alone, without the need for values.' (Frèches-Thory & Terrasse 1990, 86-87).

from 1925 disseminating it through art education in the Parisian branch of Cracow Academy of Fine Arts, where he was supported by Bonnard.

Shunga, Bijin-ga, the Nude and F  mme Fatale

In 1899 and 1900, Wojciech Weiss created a number of works that have been interpreted as a result of his contact with the art of Edvard Munch (Kossowski 1995, 65-87). Weiss first encountered Munch's paintings, woodcuts and lithographs in the Cracow apartment of Stanis  aw Przybyszewski, Munch's personal friend. A novelist, playwright and poet of the decadent naturalistic school, Przybyszewski arrived in Cracow in 1898 after years spent in Berlin. Munch's art and Przybyszewski's writings had a lot in common. They both exemplified what Przybyszewski called the theory of the 'naked soul' and 'psychic naturalism'. During his third trip to Paris in 1899, Weiss painted his first erotically charged works which reveal an unmistakeable debt to Munch. *A Kiss on the Grass* (fig.654) resonates with Munch's *Melancholy* (fig. 655). A later version of this work was identified by Berger as an example of Japonisme in the following words:

Evening on the Shore – *Melancholy*, a colour woodcut dating from 1901, derives its life from analysis into form and colour, analysis into filled and empty areas, into different patterns, colour zones, directional strokes. Although a similar tendency appeared in Gauguin (at the same time, and certainly unbeknown to Munch); and although the tendency towards abstraction, primitive simplification and flatness was in the air, this pure note strongly suggests a return to the Japanese source. In itself, the detail of the stylised eyes and mouth recalls the shorthand signs that appear in the work of Sharaku and Shunko. (Berger 1980, 307)

Weiss's *Kiss on the Grass* relates to Munch's woodblock in that it adopts strikingly similar compositional layout of the flat stains of colour, approaching an almost abstract result. Weiss, however, introduced no Japanese stylised facial features here, but instead the painting references Japanese sources in other ways, to which we will return below.

Munch's *Madonna* (fig. 656), depicting a tense nude surrounded by a bold frame of red, served Weiss as a model for his *Japanese* (fig. 657), except in the latter the red element, even more prominent, is an obvious reference to Japan: it is a kimono. Between 1898 and 1902, Weiss created several excellent nudes, most of which featured androgynous youths (fig. 651), just like the Japanese woman in the red kimono treated rather naturalistically but with very clear outlines. Although in most cases the sitters' genitalia make their sex unequivocal, their androgynous adolescent bodies render their gender ambiguous. For Weiss, androgyny in nudes and erotica also had a point of reference with Japanese art, but this point will be

discussed later. What Weiss borrowed from Munch and Przybyszewski during this early period of his artistic creativity was the catastrophic vision of the world, in which the human element was subjected to the blind forces of nature. It was a deeply pessimistic worldview marked by fatalistic eroticism. In 1899, in a letter from Paris, where many of Weiss's Munch-inspired works came to life, he wrote to his parents:

La Bohème, Baudelaireanism, Satanism, woman as Satan, the woman of Rops, Goya. I've started to make etchings. One has to speak in this way, to propagate Satanism among the crowd (...) Enormous Paris, the metropolis of the world, and myself an exile, in a small studio, with my companion reflected in the mirror. I'll paint his portrait, but paint it with the precision of Renaissance portraits. We looked at each other in Paris, I and he. To paint the hands in an ordinary way is boring. Paris seethes in me. Thousands of different races, passions and types. So I'll have him hold masks in a masquerade of emotions. In the foreground the mask of a Satanic woman, one who kills while giving sensual pleasure. Youthful heroism. (Juszczak 1976, introduction)

This passage refers to Weiss's own reflection in the mirror and his Self-Portrait with Masks (fig. 151). In Chapter II, we have already seen that this painting was intended as the artist's declaration of his admiration for Japanese art. The above-cited letter, however, unravels its encoded recourse to Munchian calamitous theories of lust and the *femme fatale*. Thus here again borrowings from Japan and Munch converge in Weiss's painting. Łukasz Kossowski singled out this self-portrait as a semantic complement to, and an elucidation of, Weiss's works of this period (Kossowski 1995, 70). This defeatist stance on the fin-de-siècle libidousness is prevalent in *A Fallen Woman* (fig. 649), *The Kiss* (fig. 653), *Kiss in the Forest* (fig. 652), a design for a vignette for the journal *Życie* (fig. 650), *Demon* (fig. 150), and *Demon* (fig. 658). All these works bear morphological affinities with Japanese pictorial principles, and at times even feature literal Japanese iconographical quotations, such as for example the kabuki mask in *Demon* from 1900. Heretofore, as these works exemplify, Weiss's take on the erotic is downright pessimistic, just like that of Munch and Przybyszewski, but at around 1905 this attitude changed dramatically. Kossowski attributed this profound change to Weiss's Pantheism and his being, above all, a painter of nature's rhythms (Kossowski 1995, 86). It appears that the change occurred also, to a degree, due to Weiss's familiarity with shunga (lit. spring pictures) – Japanese erotic art predominantly of the ukiyo-e tradition, but not exclusively.

In the possession of Weiss's family, there are two works that are very rare within the artist's oeuvre, as well as in the context of both Polish and European Japonisme (fig. 613-

614).⁹⁸ They are boisterous watercolour copies of two illustrations from a shunga album by Kitagawa Utamaro – Utamakura from 1788 (fig. 611-612). Although the album lacks both the artist's and the publisher's names, from the viewpoint of stylistic analysis, there is no doubt that Utamaro is its author. Weiss's nearly identical copies in terms of composition may be dated also on stylistic grounds, and considering their 'white patina', they were completed during the so-called 'white period' in the artist's career (1905-1912).⁹⁹ Not only is it these modest copies but also a great number of other works from the 'white period' that propose a new outlook on the erotic and the sexual, one that differs fundamentally from the doomed Gnostic slant typical of the preceding Munch-inspired phase in Weiss's career. From then on, Weiss painted jovial and blissful erotic scenes, though they never depicted the sexual act, with the exception of the copies of Utamaro. Prior to a closer look at these optimistic visions of salacious encounters, it is necessary to clarify certain points relating to shunga.

The clear-cut distinction between shunga understood as depictions of copulation and representations of sexual activity on the one hand, and non-overtly libidinous ukiyo-e imagery (innocent and coy to the average western beholder) on the other; was successfully dispersed by Timon Screech (1999). In fact, he concludes that 'all Floating World art is libidinous'. Although it would probably be difficult to find an erotic layer in for example certain landscapes by Hokusai or Hiroshige, Screech's thesis holds true with regard to the majority of ukiyo-e art, but especially to its sub-genre known as Bijin-ga – (pictures of beautiful people). Until the late 19th century both sexes were covered in this category, but today this term tends to apply solely to female imagery. Screech sees Bijin-ga as a natural extension of shunga basing his argument on the fact that the former depict predominantly characters whose personae are defined by sex: courtesans and male kabuki actors who often dabbled as prostitutes (1999, 16). Furthermore, Bijin-ga are infused with a whole spectrum of covert references to sex, ones that were legible to the contemporary Japanese, probably less so to the modern Japanese, but most certainly entirely obscure to the uninformed western beholder. Even the nigao-e (likeness pictures), superficially far-removed from the realm of the carnal, which originated from the demand to represent 'beautiful people', often functioned as advertisements for sexual services offered by their subjects. But because these are the findings of modern scholarship, it is imperative to attempt to answer the question if European artists at the beginning of the 20th century, such as Weiss, had any inkling as to the extended scope of the erotic content within ukiyo-e. This is how Screech addressed the issue:

⁹⁸ I am extremely grateful to Ms Renata Weiss for bringing the existence of these unique paintings to my attention and for enabling me access to them.

⁹⁹ For more on the 'white period' in Weiss's painting see the sub-chapter on the landscape.

Europeans began to look at pictures of the Floating World during the period of disintegration of the academic nude. Untrained Western viewers could not easily appreciate the erotic power of Japanese prints with their absence of depicted skin. (...) Japanese prints were often enjoyed for their exciting compositional arrangement, unexpected draughtsmanship, or colouring, and it barely entered the terms of engagement that the themes were male and female prostitutes. Indeed, Westerners routinely mistook the attractive boys (*wakashû*) for girls, as do many modern Japanese viewers. Real connoisseurs attempted to inform Western viewers of the facts and to lock pictures of the Floating World into sex, and artists of the analogous French *demi-monde* such as Toulouse-Lautrec expressed an interest in Japanese prints; Eduard de Goncourt's biography of Utamaro was subtitled '*Peintre des maisons vertes*' (*seirô*, better rendered as 'blue towers', that is, brothels, than 'green houses'). But ordinary people continued to frame imported prints and hang them obliviously in their parlours. (1999, 108-109)

Was Weiss one of those oblivious consumers of Japanese prints or was he unaware of the underlying erotic content in *ukiyo-e*? All historical evidence, as well as conclusions stemming from the analysis of his art, indicates that he was aware of such connotations. Eduard de Goncourt's monograph on Utamaro *Utamaro: le peintre des maisons vertes* (1891), mentioned in the above quote by Screech, elucidated the sexual aspects of Utamaro's art. The book was available to Weiss from a number of sources. If he had not come across it in Paris during one of his several stays, it was accessible at the library of Cracow Academy of Fine Arts as well as in Jasieński's library. Considering that Utamaro's prints constituted the bulk of Weiss's collection of Japanese art (fig. 358-365), it is very likely that he was familiar with the then definitive monograph on his favourite Japanese artist.

Weiss's two extant copies of sheets from Utamaro's *Utamakura* (there might have been more) must have been a 'clandestine' undertaking. They are rough studies rather than works intended to be displayed or sold. The social and religious attitudes of contemporary Poland and Europe, steeped in the moral codes of the Judeo-Christian system of ethics, prevented the appreciation of *shunga*. In fact, even in the copious literature on Weiss that exists today there is absolutely no mention of either of these copies. Furthermore, they were also excluded from the 2007 exhibition of Weiss's *Japonisme* at the *manggha* Museum of Japanese Art & Technology in Cracow. Nonetheless, they exist and are an irrefutable proof that Weiss came into contact with a copy of Utamaro's *Utamakura*. Furthermore, this encounter seems to have been significant for the development of his art. Just a cursory glance at the paintings of his wife Irena (fig. 615-618) reveals clear borrowings from *shunga*. The sitter's consistently horizontal position, naturally dominant in *shunga*, has been appropriated. Her clothing, the fabrics of the bedding and patterning on the back walls appear to be corresponding to the Japanese equivalents in that they mirror their decorative designs through a medley of red, white, green and pink segments. The function of fabrics in *shunga* was

identified by Screech as an enhancement of their erotic value, a deconstruction of the depicted bodies to a degree of merging into one entity, and a segmentation of the picture into patterned and plain areas (1999, 117-125). If Weiss did not recognise the mechanisms governing the use of cloth, often patterned, in shunga, he seems to have responded instinctively to the overall aesthetic experience such compositions afforded. Interestingly, his earlier erotica created under the spell of Munch's art provides examples of bodies of lovers merging into oneness, albeit their natural bodies can still be traced and are recognizable, unlike those in much shunga. *A Kiss on the Grass* draws on Munch's planar and linear approach, ultimately appropriated from Japanese art, but, unlike Munch's *Melancholy*, it also employs a feature typical of shunga: the eradication of the separate bodies of the lovers by fusing them into a new combined form.

Given that the sitter in the 'white period' shunga-inspired works is the artist's wife, understandably, Weiss abstained from any overtly sexual content. The closest he got to imply an erotic connotation was in *Self-portrait with Wife in the Mirror* (fig. 624). Here the couple, Weiss and his wife Irena, are seated on their marital bed, but depicted only as reflected in the large mirror as if to guard their intimacy. The redness of Irena's attire from the shunga-inspired 'horizontal' portraits is still present, signalling a sort of continuum. It should be noted that this saturated red, observed in Utamaro's shunga (fig. 612) and common in Weiss's art of the period in the form of shawls and coats worn by women, assumed the function of the signifier of the erotic (fig. 615-616, 619-620, 657). The Japaneseness of *Self-portrait with Wife in the Mirror* is further heightened by the inclusion of unframed ukiyo-e prints attached to the wall on both sides of the mirror. Although, essentially, this is a boudoir scene, its amorous element becomes clear only in juxtaposition with Weiss's copies of Utamaro's shunga and his free interpretations of the theme. By all means, however, the message emanating from these works could not be further from the fatalistic eroticism of Weiss's earlier works. Their cheerful, vibrant colour schemes amplify the blissfulness of the scenes.

An intriguing parallel with shunga can be observed in Weiss's *Zuzanna and Old Men* (fig. 670). Although the subject was a traditional one in European art, considering Weiss's familiarity with the genre of shunga and the use of a typical ukiyo-e convention of capturing a view through a window, as well as its cropped first plane, the painting appears to be inspired by Japanese art. Zuzanna, engaged in bathing on the veranda of her house, is oblivious to the gaze of the peeping men. Although in shunga voyeurs are predominantly present in pictures depicting the act of copulation (fig. 671), Weiss, given the bourgeois morals of his day, adapted the theme to a less risqué scenario, substituting the depiction of an overtly sexual act with a nude bathing woman. It should be noted that within the art of ukiyo-e images of bathers in public bathhouses being spied on also exist.

Bijin-ga collected by Weiss, including prints by Chôbunsai Eishi, Utagawa Toyokuni, Kikugawa Eizan, but above all by Kitagawa Utamaro, when juxtaposed, reveal an intriguing property, namely that the most conspicuous element in nearly each composition is the pitch-black coiffure of the women depicted. These patches of black contrast starkly with the rest of the compositions and provide visual focal points. Weiss appropriated this particular compositional element of Bijin-ga, occasionally even emphasising it to a point of fetishisation (fig. 625). It remains true that in the early 20th century Europe volume was the theme that ran through most of the popular hairstyles for women. Pinned up elaborate updos held in place by barrettes and adorned with bows or large hats were common, but Weiss made it a recurring theme of his female portraits in emulation of the Japanese example (fig. 627-635, 637). Furthermore, his beauties are invariably caught as engrossed in those activities that are characteristic of pictures of women of the Floating World: reading, writing, embroidering and preening in the mirror. The preoccupation with placing visual weight of a picture in the hairdo and headwear was also evident to a lesser degree in works by Axentowicz (fig. 638-639, 641), Franciszek Żmurko (fig. 626), Konrad Krzyżanowski (fig. 642), Okuń (fig. 643), Alfons Karpiński (fig. 640), and Dębicki (fig. 636).

Weiss's 'pictures of beautiful women' represent predominantly his wife, and they peak both in terms of quantity and quality around 1908. Having departed from the decadent doomed imagery of the female, these portraits extol of the female charm. Weiss 'worships' in them the person of his beloved wife, which prompts another parallel with the art of ukiyo-e: the reverence attached in Japan to nigao-e and ôkubi-e. Utamaro's Bijin-ga, as confirmed by the contents of Weiss's collection, appealed to him most. Accordingly, his transposition of Utamaro's canon of female beauty is discernible in the portraits of Irena. *Renia with a Mirror* (fig. 628) references ôkubi-e, using a number of Japanese-borrowed features. The figure of the sitter is positioned asymmetrically but reflected in the back mirror, which extends the pictorial space in the Japanese manner. Renia (short for Irena) holds a small mirror in her hand, just like many ukiyo-e courtesans preening themselves. The turban corresponds to the black voluminous hair blots in Japanese equivalents, while the facial features are executed with contours: delineated eyebrows, short lines of half-closed eyes, and laconically rendered lips and nose. This conventionalised formula for representing the face is equally evident in *Renia in White* (fig. 622) and *Renia Reading I* (fig. 627). The former of the two is an example of Japonisme par excellence. Not only does it follow ukiyo-e's convention for depicting the hair and face, but is based on the popular ukiyo-e theme of women reading scrolls. Moreover, the diagonal arrangement of the figure and the reading material, the mannerist head tilt, the downcast eyes, as well as the sumptuous patterned background reminiscent of Japanese fabrics or painted screens further strengthen its Japanese quality. At first glance, *Renia* in the

Doorway (fig. 620) defies classification as a painting with libidinous substance. Only upon comparison with either Japanese (fig. 657) or Japanese Bijin-ga, does one realise the erotic connotation. The alluring pose of the half-nude 'Japanese' is repeated in Renia in the Doorway, although here the sitter is fully clothed. Instead, the layered clothing, partly in black flat stain of colour, and partly in minutely patterned fabrics take cues from Japanese attire. The prominence of sumptuous materials in Weiss's travesties of Bijin-ga suggests that he was aware of the sensual connotations of cloth in Japanese art, and therefore also must have appreciated the sexual aspect of Bijin-ga.

Among the favoured motifs of Art Nouveau was the plumage of the peacock, perhaps best exemplified by Whistler's famous Peacock Room paintings. This feature, directly borrowed from Japanese iconography, was often incorporated into decorative compositions depicting fin-de-siècle women. In Polish art of the period such works, although not very common, include paintings by Edward Okuń (fig. 647) and Kazimierz Stabrowski (fig. 648). In both cases the trains of the women's gowns are clear allusions to peacock plumage. The highly decorative value of the peacock motif is matched by rich patterning of the remaining surface in both paintings and the characteristic curved poses of the sitters, all of which are obvious allusions to Japan.

The nude had existed in abundance in European art before the first encounters with Japanese art, in fact, it was the second most regarded genre after history painting. Even in the prudish Victorian milieu, it was acceptable provided that it represented a classical subject. If, on the other hand, audiences were to be confronted with nudity positioned in a contemporary context devoid of obvious classical trappings, their morality would have been challenged. For this very reason, the frontrunner of French Japonisme Manet's Olympia (fig. 659) caused an avalanche of protests from conservatives who denounced it as immoral and vulgar. The nakedness of its sitter was only a minor 'offence' in comparison with Manet's audacious decision to identify her as a demi-mondaine or courtesan. This he did by instilling the picture with contemporarily legible symbols of wealth and sensuality: an orchid in her hair, expensive jewellery, and the black cat as a signifier of prostitution; thus creating not an idealised classical subject but a real woman brutally exposed as a one of ill repute. Olympia's deviation from full chiaroscuro resulting in the painting's shallow depth, along with the fact that Manet placed it amidst Japanese artefacts in his portrait of Emil Zola (fig. 494), indicate Japanese art as a source of inspiration.

Olympia provided one of the first symptoms of the liberation of the nude from the conventions of Academic art and of the restoration of its erotic weight. The art of ukiyo-e was an important catalyst in this process. In the 1880s and 1890s the nude was further liberated by Japanese precedents in the works of Edgar Degas, whose formulaic stenographic impressions

of movement taken from Hokusai's *Manga* rendered women in heretofore unconceivable poses. The novel approach towards the nude spread from France and reached Poland only in the last decade of the 19th century. *Ecstasy* (fig. 660) by Władysław Podkowiński caused a sensation when displayed in 1894 at the Warsaw Zachęta Gallery. Although the majority of critics and the general public praised it, the philistine circles condemned it as an abomination.¹⁰⁰ This decadent fantasy of erotic frenzy with a nude woman passionately clutching the neck of the stallion bears no direct relation to Japanese sources, but exemplifies the progress in the process of emancipation of the nude triggered three decades before in France and aided by the Japanese example. If parallels were to be drawn between this scene and a particular Japanese work, Hokusai's *Tako to ama* (Octopi and Shell diver) (fig. 665) from 1814 springs to mind, as both portray an erotic union between a woman and a beast. Later reverberations of the theme are present in Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz's works (fig. 661-662), and paintings by Marian Wawrzeniecki (fig. 663-664). It is also worth noting that *Ecstasy*, after its partial destruction (for unknown reasons) by Podkowiński in the gallery rooms of Zachęta, and its subsequent restoration, was purchased by Feliks Jasieński, to whom Podkowiński was both a friend and protégée. Interestingly, it would later hang in Jasieński's Cracow flat as a backdrop for a display of Japanese art pieces, including a Buddha statue (fig. 295). Genuine 'Japanisation' of the nude within the art of Polish Modernism, however, occurred later in works by Weiss: *Japanese* (fig. 657) and *Dębicki's Bathing Women* (fig. 644-646).

An appropriate way to end the discussion of depictions of female beauty as they were appropriated from the Japanese art and to introduce the subchapter on Japonisme as manifested in Polish landscape painting, is the meeting point of these two categories: women

¹⁰⁰ Most of what we know about the strident criticism of *Ecstasy* by Podkowiński voiced by philistine circles comes from critics' reviews which, otherwise, on the whole, were favourable and even enthusiastically positive. Thus, a critic under the pseudonym Urbanus wrote: 'Although pedantic "Prudehommes" disapproved of the painting, on the whole it was praised, and by some even admired' (Urbanus 1894, 243); Kazimierz Tetmajer remarked: 'Old school will probably be critical of *Ecstasy* and philistines will not know what to think about it (...)' (Tetmajer 1894, 238); Jan August Kisielewski's review of *Ecstasy* took the form a parody written as a dialogue between two philistines, Jerzy and Julia, in which Julia tells Jerzy about the exhilarating and liberating experience she had in front of the painting (Kisielewski 1899, 250-252). Feliks Jasieński lamented the lack of understanding on the part of philistines: 'Neither the artist's temperament nor his immense talent could get through to those philistines. They only pointed out drawbacks – undoubtedly present (...). *Ecstasy* – a giant proof of the artist's talent – was judged from a veterinary, and even pornographic, point of view. Three years ago, a certain Savonarola from around Opatów equipped his farm workers with pitchforks and was preparing an "invasion", announcing it in Warsaw press. Moving the painting to Cracow saved it from its second destruction.' (Jasieński 1903-1904, table 64). In 1894 in the Zachęta Gallery, Podkowiński destroyed the painting by slashing it with a knife. The reasons for which he did it were never disclosed. It is not far-fetched to speculate that the act of destruction might have been brought about by hostile philistine threats.

against landscape. Among the various settings for representing the Japanese beauties of the Floating World was a convention brought to perfection by Torii Kiyonaga (fig. 669). His stylish ‘towering’ females were often shown against the background of an open vista divided by the horizon line. The first plan, invariably a veranda, is separated from the middle ground by a balustrade. The middle ground, in turn – due to a lack of features providing points of reference for linear perspective, such as Japanese architecture – usually consists of the surface of a body of water. By using this device the artist did away with the problematic middle section of line-less uki-e composition. It is only the third plan – the distant cityscape – that creates a sense of distance and progression of space. This representational ‘system’ was appropriated by Whistler with much success (fig. 667).

Teodor Axentowicz, who specialised in female portraits, painted *Woman by the Balustrade* (fig. 666), which appears to be a hybrid that came into existence as the convergence of multiple inspirations. In utilising the compositional solution present in both Kiyonaga’s and Whistler’s works Axentowicz draws upon Japanese and Western European art. Although here what the beholder is presented with, (besides the woman who is moved to the left of the frame, and the balustrade) is a view shrouded in a dense mist. Nonetheless, vague shapes at the height of expected horizon and a crescent moon are discernible. Whether it is an accidental parallel or a conscious reference to Kiyonaga’s print, the combination of yellow and black used by Axentowicz for his sitter’s headwear corresponds closely to the Japanese counterpart. The type of balustrade used by Axentowicz, however, deviates from Kiyonaga’s or Whistler’s, and instead resembles that in Manet’s *The Balcony* (fig. 668).

Landscapes of the Soul

The disillusionment brought at the end of the age of Positivism resulting from loss of faith in the power of the intellect and its products: the axioms of strict sciences, industrialisation and advances in technology, developed into a reaction against rationalistic and materialistic worldviews. European artists began to realise that the essence of existence lied beyond the material, in the sphere of the spiritual. The worldviews that gained momentum were pantheism and panpsychism. The former identified God with the world whose embodiment was Nature. The latter proposed a holistic view of the world in which the whole Universe is an organism that possesses a mind, all natural phenomena are conscious, sentient and therefore possess a ‘soul’. Both positions found expression in European Symbolism, where the genre of landscape became a naturally obvious development. At that

time one observes a revival of the legacy of Romanticism manifest through an upsurge of interest in psychological inspection, esoterism, the esoteric and the occult.

All this was true of Polish Modernism too, but in the European context Polish landscape painting assumed a particular distinctiveness, which set it apart from all other branches of European Symbolist landscape traditions. In Poland, which in fact did not exist at the time on the map of Europe, landscape was more than the representation of Nature as the abode of God and a soulful entity. Since Polish landscape painting depicted the lands Poland once had been, in Modernist art it was conceived as an enclave of Polishness, and a parable of the current situation of the Polish nation. Explaining the role of nature in Polish Modernist painting as an active player in Polish history and the axis of Polish Symbolist constructions Wiesław Juszczak wrote so:

Symbolised that is spirited sentient and conscious nature could – without the need for the literalness of personification – take part in historical events, it could play the role of an active element, and not only that of mere background, and it could retain the memories of these events, and radiate them. Not only was it a tableau marked by human activity, but also their living witness and co-creator. (2004, 69)

Landscape painting had so much appeal during the Young Poland period that it became its noble trademark. The enthusiasm for it among the young adepts of Cracow Academy of Fine Arts was so tremendous that its director Julian Fałat warned against limiting oneself exclusively to this genre:

Landscape has become the exclusive speciality of the young painters at the expense of composition and portrait. One can conclude from any exhibition in the country that almost ninety percent of the output is landscape. This state is abnormal and indeed dangerous for the future of Polish art. (Dobrowolski 1963, 292)

The convergence between Japanese art and Polish Modernist landscape painting pertains above else to the realm of philosophy. Both the pantheistic and the panapsychic dimensions characterise these two seemingly disparate artistic traditions. The spiritual concern in depictions of nature was expressed in the 17th century by Tosa Mitsuoki in his *Authoritative Summary of the Rules of Japanese Painting*:

Until the picture conveys the spirit of the object, it will not have the divine element in it, and consequently it will be like a temple without a god. No common artist can breathe spirit into his work; but if a disciple does not try to work with this goal always in his mind – how will he manage to endow his art with expression? This is true of all pictures. It would make no sense to discuss painting principles if painting were to be mere duplication of shapes. The ultimate goal of painting is to show the spirit of the object. (Ueda, 160)

But this type of heightened realism focusing not on faithful mimetic duplication but instead on eliciting internal laws of nature – where the artist leaves out certain external details or characteristics of the object represented – was also typical of Japanese Nanga painting. It was a school flourishing in the Edo period among artists that considered themselves literati or intellectuals, and drew heavily on Chinese theories of the purpose and practice of landscape painting. Much of what characterises Japanese approaches to landscape painting had come from Chinese treatises on painting. The writings of Ku K'ai-chih and Tsung Ping emphasised the spiritual essence of the landscape; whereas those of Mi Fu defined the purpose of landscape painting as an exploration of the world within the human heart (Takeuchi 1992, 83).

The 'soulfulness' of Polish Modernist landscape as well as its preoccupation with conveying the internal essence of nature was aptly observed by Stefan Popowski on the occasion of the 1900 exhibition of Ferdynand Ruszczyc's paintings:

Today's painting does not reproduce but primarily expresses nature, conveys not only its external shapes, but also its soul – mood. That mood dominates today's landscapes as the artistic content of the composition, overwhelming mere descriptiveness, which, with strive for ever greater simplification of motifs, often boils down to a few lines, and immeasurable diversity of light motifs, is an inexhaustible treasure to a painter who is worthy of sensing its subtle poetry. (Popowski 1990, 415)

This symbolisation of the spiritual dimension in Polish landscape was aided by the use of artistic devices and structural ploys borrowed from Japanese art. The elevated vantage point facilitated embracing large swathes of land and sea, as well as contemplating them from bird's-eye view. The frog's view perspective allowed intimate or voyeuristic gaze at nature's secrets. Reflections in surfaces of lakes, window panes and glass spheres afforded an extension of the depicted space and at the same time alluded to the complexity of nature. Close-ups and the *pars pro toto* approach, where a fragment of a larger whole stood for its entirety, provided the artist with the opportunity to succinctly epitomise a typical characteristic of the landscape.

We have already seen that both the art theories and the painting of Stanisław Witkiewicz, a precursor of Polish Symbolism, advocated ways of depicting nature which converged with the Japanese treatment of it. His essay *Po latach* (Years Later) recommended to Polish painters certain Japanese books with delicately drawn, but expressive, representations of the yearly cycle through the life of plants as instruction for painting the Polish Tatra Mountains – a subject easily approachable through the lens of seasonality (Witkiewicz 1970, 20). Witkiewicz's interpretations of the Japanese-derived motif of the

Great Wave (fig. 16-17) and his 'portraits' of flowers and trees (fig. 19-20), as well as his views of the Tatra Mountains (fig. 22-25) capably convey the true essence, spirit and atmosphere of natural phenomena.

We have also seen that Ferdynand Ruszczyc's fascination with Japanese landscape, in particular Hiroshige's version of it, was also translated into Polish themes (fig. 198-200, 202, 204, 206, 208, 210). Centred on the theme of the four elements of earth, water, air and fire (Krzysztofowicz-Kozakowska 2002, 59-63); Ruszczyc's landscapes draw on the ingenious Japanese ability to convey nature in flux, in motion, and therefore as animated entities in accordance with the pantheistic worldview (fig. 883, 885). Japanese art lent pictorial devices to Ruszczyc, in particular those that served the organisation of the pictorial plane. He often used such a high vantage point that the horizon line was pushed beyond the picture frame, and divided space by means of the Japanese-borrowed ploys such as bridges and verticals of tree-trunks. Rivers meandering in the direction of the beholder (fig. 206), winter scenes with snow-made arabesques (fig. 814-815) modelled on Hiroshige's (fig. 813), and birds in flight (fig. 212, 214) were also appropriated from the Japanese iconographical repertoire of natural motifs. At the time of the Russo-Japanese war, and as a direct result of it, Ruszczyc painted *Nec mergitur*¹⁰¹ (fig. 672), a vision of the approaching independence of Poland symbolised by the fantastical wreck of a ship heading to its home port after decades of aimless wander. This close-up of a seascape brings to mind *The Great Wave off Kanagawa* (fig. 673) opening Hokusai's series *Thirty-Six Views of Mount Fuji*. Both represent a vessel struggling with the forces of nature, but in the Polish version the turbulent waters embody the burden of Polish history under foreign occupation (Bernat 2007, 65-67).

It is not surprising that the year 1904 saw a true explosion of landscape painting in Poland. The Russo-Japanese war revived hopes for independence, and the landscape had the potential of a symbol of patriotism. Wyspiański's views of Kościuszko Mound belong to this category of Polish landscape. The depictions of the Polish Tatra Mountains created by Wyczółkowski between 1904 and 1911 (fig. 677-695) were also a sort of response to this auspicious moment in Polish history as well as a direct result of the artist's fascination with ukiyo-e woodblock print. These, mainly pastel, compositions often arranged in two or three-layered registers, viewed either from a bird's-eye view or from a frog's perspective, comply with the *pars pro toto* principle. Through the use of this visual synecdoche Wyczółkowski rendered the monumentality of the mountains by cropping the whole and showing only a fragment of it. As he expressed it in his words, 'the impression of vastness of such a view

¹⁰¹ *Nec mergitur* is a shorter form of the Roman-style Latin inscription *Fluctuant nec mergitur*, meaning 'It is tossed by the waves, but does not sink'.

would be greatly diminished by representing it in full' (Twarowska 1962, 29).¹⁰² Instead, the artist often draws the viewer to the lower sections of the slopes and to the surface of the ponds beneath, in which the reflection of the mountain slopes allows the beholder to extend the fragment by means of his imagination. Such close-ups are also a statement of the artist's personal attitude to nature. By peeking into the detailed nuances of the natural world, Wyczółkowski, as it were, attempts to decipher nature's secrets. These mountain landscapes emanate a form of pantheism, a belief in which the universe, or nature and God are equivalent. Their Japanese provenance is confirmed by their flatness, geometrical compartmentalisation of the composition, the use of active central void, and their decorative, almost abstract treatment of certain motifs such as the waterfalls. With the scale of colour confined to black, white, brown and grey, these landscapes constitute a further step in the evolution of Wyczółkowski's art from colour to monochrome.

As noted by Maria Twarowska, just like Wyspiański's series inspired by Hokusai's views of Mount Fuji, Wyczółkowski's contemplative images of the Tatras were instigated by Feliks Jasieński (1962, 26). We will return to the subject of the relationship between these two aficionados of all thing Japanese, but here suffice it to quote the contents of Wyczółkowski's letter to Jasieński written from Cracow after a stay in the town of Zakopane in the heart of the Tatras during the peak of the 'mountain-period' in Wyczółkowski's career:

I have brought works from Zakopane to show them to You; I am sorry You are not in Cracow and that You did not visit me in Zakopane. You are too close to me for me to invite you. Please, let me know when You are coming. (Twarowska 1960, 255)

Numerous works created at the time by Wyczółkowski along with those that he painted several years earlier with his student Wojciech Weiss, may be regarded as a collective prototype of Polish mountain painting, which in the ensuing decades became one of the most popular genres in Polish art.

A dramatic change in the oeuvre of Wojciech Weiss occurred in 1905. This transition from the pessimistic painting – inspired by the bitter and decadent prose of Stanisław Przybyszewski and the art of Edward Munch and other Scandinavian Expressionists – to an enthusiastic affirmation of life and Nature, has been ascribed by Kossowski to the change of the political atmosphere in Poland caused by the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war (2007).

¹⁰² This much-quoted by Wyczółkowski compositional principle was recorded in Adam Kleczkowski's manuscript, which was the basis for Maria Twarowska's 1960 publication *Leon Wyczółkowski. Listy i wspomnienia*. (Leon Wyczółkowski. Letters and Memories). This quote, however, was not included in Twarowska's book.

The metamorphosis manifested itself above all in the brightening of his palette to a degree that allowed art historians to label this period in Weiss's career as 'the white period'.

Kossowski traces the cause of the change directly to Weiss's taste for Japanese art:

The fascination of the artist with Japanese art, which he discovered thanks to Feliks Manggha Jasiński, remains the key to his white period paintings. It is mainly due to this influence that the chromacity of his paintings lightens up and slowly drifts towards the matt silver spectrum, only in order to expand in Kalwaria towards the rainbow range and start to opalize. The unnaturally bright landscapes result, overpenetrated by light. Weiss's palette becomes dominated by the whiteness, which he uses to soften as well as brighten the colours. (2007, 7)

Kossowski refers to Kalwaria in his quote, a town near Cracow to which Weiss moved in 1905, and which from then on became, as he said himself, his Arcadia. This rural paradise enabled the artist to lower his eyes in the Franciscan or Japanese manner as if to eavesdrop on the nature's secrets.

Undoubtedly, as Weiss's art confirms, his close relationship to nature, which began in his childhood, evidently matures during his white period. His personal observations recorded in his unpublished notes, today in the possession of his family shed light on his perception of the 'world of white':

White winter, warm breeze, the sun is rising into the spring constellation, trees adorned by white blossom in a very subtle hue, silver mists, the whiteness of flowers spread through pale green lawns. Each colour has an incredibly bright and delicate tint, snow-like powder is scattered by the wind, trees become silver-grey, pink and if in the sun – green. (Kossowski 1985, 18)

In art there are four seasons. There are the primitives, the spring, bright paintings, Puvis de Chavannes; the summer is the Renaissance – the sunniness without shade, the autumn has warm colours and rich hues, the winter – the pure colour of the paper. (Kossowski 1985, 18)

As Kossowski makes further observations on these spontaneous notations, he discerns indirect links between their contents and Japanese art, pointing to spring and winter as the favourite seasons in Japan. Although both seasons have rich traditions of representation in Japanese art, so does autumnal imagery. However, what is transparent in Weiss's thoughts on paper is his sensibility to the seasonality of nature, one of the defining characteristics of Japanese culture. Not unlike the other landscapists discussed so far, Weiss employs a wide array of Japanese pictorial solutions in his nature paintings. In *Spiderwebs* (fig. 697), the

crating effect was ably applied to the otherwise white painting. Kossowski, comparing this work to Horikiri Iris Garden by Hiroshige (fig. 696) wrote:

In this latter case (*Weiss's P.S.*), the narrowing of the frame and radical closing up on the foreground served the purpose of giving nature autonomy – in the dispersed light of a cold autumn morning the dried stems of currant branches are entwined with spiderwebs, with morning dew drops trembling on them. Enchanting is the constricted colour range of the painting, comprising greens, pinks and matt whites. This arbitrary choice emphasises the expressive function of colour, and at the same time it shows us that the artist dissociated himself from the naturalistic imitation of nature. (2007, 194)

Such focus on the foreground was given to numerous compositions by Weiss in his white period (fig. 698-699).

The Japonisme of Weiss's landscapes consists also in the inclusion of elements of Japanese-inspired architecture. One of his landscapes from the late 'white period' features a structure that would never be seen in Poland at the time, and probably not today either (fig. 701). Weiss painted something that most definitely cannot refer to anything else but a floating in water torii gate. Although in Japan they are almost always composed of two uprights and two – and not one as is the case in Weiss's painting – crossbars, the resemblance to such sites as for example Miyajima is obvious. In support of this connection is the fact that Weiss owned Japanese prints depicting this architectural structure on land (fig. 700, 702) and a fan with a view of a torii in water (fig. 414). The much-favoured by the artist motif of the garden gate (fig. 703-704), albeit a real architectural feature in Weiss's Kalwaria estate, was made the subject of several works in direct appropriation from an equivalent structure present in a Japanese print owned by Weiss (fig. 705). Another architectural element borrowed by Weiss from Japan and used as a point of departure for his landscape painting is the veranda, or more precisely, a part of it cropped by the picture frame (fig. 706-708), as seen in another Japanese print from the artist's collection (fig. 709). Preceding slightly the 'white period', because produced in 1903, are the cropped in the manner of the Japanese woodblock or Whistler, Weiss's paintings of musicians on the bridge (fig. 710-711), in which architecture serves as a means of dividing the pictorial space into compartments. Although in Whistler's *Nocturne in Blue and Gold – Old Battersea Bridge* (fig. 712) the space has been interpreted as divided into two horizontal bands (Berger 1980, 41), its division into two vertical compartments seems much more pronounced in the sense that the mood and tone of colour vary from the right of the pillar to the left. Weiss dissected his painting only once creating two layers depicting unrelated scenes.

Ślewiński, Weiss, Wyczółkowski, Malczewski and Wyspiański were all accomplished landscapists, but their oeuvres comprise also other genres. Julian Fałat was much less versatile. We have seen his genre scenes from China and Japan, and portraits à la japonaise, but his speciality was landscape painting. His beloved medium was watercolour, which allowed him to paint quickly, in a way similar to the Japanese calligrapher of ink painter. Both before his journey to East Asia in 1885 and after it, Fałat's landscapes were strongly affected by various aspects of Japanese art. The Japonisme of his landscape painting before 1900 has been identified in the monumental 'portraits of trees' (fig. 33-34), the wintery hunting scenes composed with a Japanese-like sense for *nôtan* (fig. 46) and Cracow cityscapes (fig. 47-54). Fałat's early Japanese inspirations also drew from East Asian tradition of ink and wash painting, or *sumi-e*. Good examples of this type are *Winter Landscape* (fig. 716), *Beehives on Special Scaffolding* (fig. 717), and *Elks* (fig. 718). In *Elk Hunting* (fig. 714), he used again the horizontally elongated format reminiscent of Japanese screen painting, but more importantly, the adroitly executed strip of trees in the background brings to mind the work of Hasegawa Tôhaku, a Kanô-school trained artist, who also studied the older Sung, Yuan and Muromachi styles of ink painting from scrolls by Mu Chi and Sesshû Tōyō. In *Pine Trees Screen* (fig. 715), a Japanese national treasure, Tôhaku synthesised the Chinese technique of using a range of varying intensities of ink with the Japanese motif of the pine. This technique enabled him to convey the thick mist, which also hangs over the forest in Fałat's painting.

Fałat's diaries from his trip to Japan offer a valuable insight into his reception of the Japanese landscape and support the connection between his painting and Japanese art as well as Japanese nature as experienced in person:

Japan is a world of great poetry present in its thousand-year old temples and cemeteries – a sublime culture of peculiarly artistic nation. As an artist, and a painter, I was struck by the mistiness of the landscape, which creates unique perspectives and understatements, as it were, opening a wide field for the artist's imagination to roam in. The trees, with only minor exceptions, are almost the same as in Europe, but more robust and bigger, sometimes downright giant, with dragon-like forms in their branches and roots. Most are cedars and old pines, which – resembling our pine forests – make this landscape particularly pleasant to me. The power of the sun with the moisture provided by the seas surrounding Japan, and with the northern winds, has created this prowess and strength in the trees. It seems that these oaks, hornbeams, alders and pines are better off here than in Europe and that it is here that they have reached the optimum of their beauty. The whole people is one with nature here, which they look after so sensibly and with such an artistic sense. A Japanese finds an ultimate delight in the views of the mountains, seas, lakes, rocks and waterfalls, an innumerable plenty of which provides opportunities to make veritable national pilgrimages at certain times of the year. At times, in miniature gardens, one can admire a microcosm of Japanese landscape, complete with trees, grottos, ponds, bridges and rocks of wondrous beauty. In each house and in front of it, plants in

bamboo pots are arranged with a great sense of colour and line. The love of nature and the exploration of beauty to moralise the lowest strata of society has opened my eyes to the upbringing of the Japanese, to their religion and their ideals, of which practically nothing is known by someone who has not seen Japan without prejudice, but rather with a capability of insight and understanding. (Fałat 1987, 128-129, tr. by Jerzy Juruś)

Japanese landscape and nature were most abiding source of inspiration for Fałat but Japanese landscape painting exerted equally profound impression on him:

I – as an artist – was charmed right away by the Japanese landscape, always somewhat misty, which over a thousand-year-long period of development of art, Japanese artists have brought to this synthesis of line and colour and which, thanks to innumerable reproductions, is accessible even to the poorest. The landscape is enlivened by human figures agile like an army of ants, of silhouettes entirely different from those in Europe; the most picturesque are country people, farmers, fishermen and those who do the hardest manual labour, such as porters and coachmen. Usually half-naked, in huge hats made of straw or other stems, in rice-straw coats it rains and also wearing straw sandals, they move around quietly like ghosts. Townspeople usually wear indigo-coloured kimonos or garments including thigh breeches called *hatama*, white stockings and gaiters. (Fałat 1987, 130-132, tr. by Jerzy Juruś)

Despite the fact that Fałat made detailed observations of the human element within Japan, and within the Japanese landscape tradition, his own mature landscape painting remained virtually devoid of human presence. Around 1907, his work begins to feature the motif of the winter landscape with a creek meandering through snow-covered fields (fig. 721, 724-747, 750, 756, 762). These oil, watercolour and pastel asymmetrical compositions, with flat areas of colour, decorative supple line and the use of unpainted background of the canvas, offer an optical illusion rather than a veristic representation, and have parallels in the synthesised and schematised *ukiyo-e* winter landscapes (fig. 722-723, 755). They too can be classed as soul landscapes, with their serene tranquillity, absence of the human figure, animated only by the occasional bird in flight. The panoramic capture and often large size of the canvas accommodate the use of broad swathes of white, which in fact is never white. The essence and palpability of snow are conveyed through blues, yellows, pinks, greys, beiges, greens and browns. At times, in a way resembling Wyspiański's treatment of Kościuszko Mound, the central motif of these compositions – the river – is not there at all, or rather it is hidden under layers of ice and snow. The motif of the creek was also adapted by Fałat to non-winter landscapes, but these are fewer and less successful artistically (fig. 749, 751-754). However, the whiteness of snow and its capability of providing vivid contrasts in juxtaposition with other colours, a feature frequently utilised in *ukiyo-e*, appealed to Fałat greatly. His visions of winter, including those devoid of the creek motif (fig. 757-764), are

records of his emotional attitude towards natural phenomena and evidence of Japanese-like sensitivity to seasonality in nature. This characteristic of Fałat's artistic outlook is further corroborated by his autumnal scenes (fig. 765-766, 849).

Among the Japanising winter vistas by Fałat, there is a gouache and pastel painting which was acquired by Feliks Jasieński. *Snowy Burden* (fig. 766) is Japanese through and through, and most likely this is the reason it found its way to Jasieński's collection. Being a knowledgeable connoisseur of Japanese art, Jasieński must have recognised its overall expression as akin to the Japanese treatment of snowy trees, but was he capable of tracing it to any particular example? The resemblance of this piece to *Pines in Snow* (fig. 767), a pair of six-panel folding screens by Maruyama Ōkyo is uncanny. The cropped at the top pines, their asymmetrical positioning, the distribution of patches of snow on the branches, and the identical colour schemes of black, white and pale matt gold point to a direct appropriation.

The decorative quality of Fałat's paintings of creeks in the snow became a popular theme among many students at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts. Stefan Filipkiewicz made it the most common motif in his painting (fig. 768, 770-781). Stanisław Kamocki (fig. 782-783), Ludwik Misky (fig. 784), Teodor Ziomek (fig. 769, 785, 789), Jakub Glasner (fig. 790-794), Stanisław Gałek (fig. 786-788), Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz (fig. 795, 801), Henryk Uziembło (fig. 796), Abraham Neuman (fig. 797-798), Jan Talaga (fig. 799), Mieczysław Filipkiewicz, and Romuald Kamil Witkowski were among those who also adopted it. Although all these artists studied at the Cracow Academy during Fałat's tenure as its director, he did not teach nor had students assigned to him. Nonetheless, his vision of the river in the snow became a model for imitation, and a vehicle for the popularisation of Japonisme in Poland. The artist-professor who did teach most of the above-mentioned artists was Jan Stanisławski, the giant of Polish landscape painting. Although this particular theme of creek in snow is rare in his work (fig. 800), the motif of meandering river seen from a high vantage point, akin to Fałat's winter versions, was frequent in Stanisławski's painting after 1900 in the depictions of the Dnieper River (fig. 802-805). Other notable examples of this motif are present in the works by Malczewski (fig. 806), Teodor Ziomek (fig. 807), Kazimierz Stabrowski (fig. 808), and Iwan Trusz (fig. 809).

Because Stanisławski died in 1907, the bulk of his copious oeuvre belongs to the 19th century. For this reason, his earlier Japanese inspirations have been discussed in the previous chapter. He made a lasting impact on the development of the genre of landscape painting in Poland through his teaching position as the head of the landscape department at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts.

In 1901, Stanisławski began his collaboration with the Warsaw magazine *Chimera*, which published reproductions of his works, among them *Poplars* (fig. 191-192), and *Thistles*

(fig. 187). In 1903, he cooperated with Feliks Jasieński on the canonical album *Sztuka Polska: Malarstwo* (Polish Art: Painting), and in 1904 visited the ailing Wyspiański in his flat during the painting of the *Kościuszko Mound* series, to paint Wyspiański's portrait. Around that time he painted the mound himself placing it centrally in the picture, unlike Wyspiański, but endowing it with the conical shape and snow-covered peak, which made it instantly evocative of Mount Fuji (fig. 812). In 1906, another Fuji-like picture was painted, this time depicting a peak in the Tatra Mountains, and like the majority of Stanisławski's 20th-century work, it was purchased by Jasieński, who undoubtedly recognised its reference to Japan (fig. 810). Similar compositions alluding to the iconic image of Mt Fuji were painted also by, Wyczółkowski (fig. 811), Ruszczyc (fig. 903), and Marcin Samlicki (fig. 828), the latter work being reminiscent of Hokusai's *Shower at the Foot of the Mountain* (fig. 827) from *Thirty-Six Views of Mt Fuji*.

All the Japanese-derived pictorial devices that Stanisławski introduced to his work in the preceding century continued to structure his painting after 1900. The progression of depth was achieved not through linear perspective but by the use of a motif in the foreground cropped by the bottom frame (fig. 817). The crating motif appears to have reached its pinnacle in this period of Stanisławski's work, often covering the entire surface of the painting (fig. 848, 857). Low vantage point perspective close-ups undertaken in an act of intense contemplation, sometimes resulted in the elimination of the horizon line and consequently a cadre capturing a fragment of land filled with an overall pattern heading towards abstraction (fig. 904). It was after 1900 that the artist applied the Japanese approach of fragmentary depiction – the close-up to paintings of architecture (fig. 816-817), heretofore employing it often in landscapes. The Japaneseness of this compositional ploy was so explained by Michał Sobeski:

A European isolates a work of art from reality, which means that he or she creates frames for it in the broadest sense of the word. A Japanese person does not see any difference between art and life, and nature, which is why he or she does not create closed compositions but rather ones that merge into life and nature (...). In the view of the latter, the same soul of the world permeates the existing reality that is created by human hand as a work of art. Hence, what is infinitely large, i. e. the universe can be noticed in the infinitely small, i. e. a specific object. Isolating works with frames is then bound to seem downright redundant. (1971, 397)

Stanisławski's greatness as a landscape artist was widely recognised. In the album which contained reproductions of Stanisławski's works, and which set the standards of Polish art *Sztuka Polska: Malarstwo* (Polish Art: Painting) (published in 1904 in Lviv and edited by Feliks Jasieński and Adam Łada-Cybulski), Jan Kleszczyński conveyed the essence of his art in the following words:

Sun, flowers, spring, the wide steppe, the unencompassable air spaces above the limitless plains, with just a few thistles seen in the foreground; a quiet, pensive moonlight night – these are mostly the themes of Stanisławski's paintings. There is nothing raucous about them, nothing featured with an intention to impress. He could be called an aristocrat of landscape, he is so careful to avoid any melodrama or prose, he has sunk so deeply into subtle, ephemeral ambiances in nature. (1903-1904)

His renown as a landscapist and an excellent art educator by vocation was the reason for which his painting became an invaluable source of inspiration for the informal 'school' he established among his students. His instruction and the example of his painting perpetuated many of his artistic solutions into subsequent generations of painters; and because most of them were steeped in Japanese art, with them a taste for Japanese art was also passed on. The Japonisme of his students is best exemplified by such works as *View of the Monastery in Czerna* by Kamocki (fig. 854), *Gale* by Stanisław Czajkowski (fig. 865), *Winter Landscape with a Fence* by Jan Bułas (fig. 818), *Lido* by Alfons Karpiński (fig. 886), *Sunflowers* by Tadeusz Makowski (fig. 895), *Water Lilies* by Teodor Ziomek (fig. 902), *Winter: Peacock in the Garden* by Józef Czajkowski (fig. 830), and *Ruins at the Pond* by Jan Wojnarski (fig. 1119).

Stanisławski's and Fałat's winter landscapes, both owing a great deal to Japanese art, confirmed the theme as one of the most popular in Polish Modernism. They also set the painterly canon for representing this season of the yearly cycle, clearly visible in the works of the following artists: Stanisław Czajkowski (fig. 819), Józef Czajkowski (fig. 820), Alfons Karpiński (fig. 823), Stefan Filipkiewicz (fig. 824), Marcin Samlicki (fig. 828), Stanisław Kamocki (fig. 826), *Ruszczyc* (fig. 825), Eugeniusz Eibisch (fig. 821), Jerzy Karszniewicz (fig. 822), Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz (fig. 829), Henryk Szczygliński (fig. 831), Tadeusz Makowski (fig. 832), Aleksander Augustynowicz (fig. 837), and Henryk Uziembło (fig. 834). Leon Wyczółkowski, by means of various media including watercolour, ink and gouache, developed in his winter landscapes a quality akin to Japanese ink painting (fig. 833, 835-836, and 838-839).

Naturally, the seasonal sensibility, encouraged by the Japanese example, manifested itself, besides winter, in depictions of other seasons, among which autumn proved extremely popular. Stanisławski's *Landscape from Zakopane* (fig. 840) may be interpreted either as a representation of winter or autumn. The large area of 'white' implies snow, but the overall colour scheme of the composition fits autumn more than winter. The interest in the transitory phases between the seasons of the year was typical of much of Japanese art, but whether Stanisławski was aware of it is unknown. Not unlike the Japanese tradition of *momiji*

viewing, the Poles had also been particularly attracted to the sight of autumnal foliage.¹⁰³ This predilection was also expressed in paintings by Okuń (fig. 841), Jan Kanty Gumowski (fig. 842), Stabrowski (fig. 845), Maria Niedzielska (fig. 844), Władysław Jarocki (fig. 846), Uziembło (fig. 847), Sichulski (fig. 843), and Stanisławski (fig. 848). The spring and summer were also well represented: Ignacy Pieńkowski, Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz (fig. 851), Malczewski (fig. 850), Kamocki (fig. 852), and Niedzielska (fig. 853).

Polish Modernist landscape painting appropriated a series of artistic conventions typical of Japanese art, and especially ukiyo-e. The crating motif was one of them. It became so popular that it was often taken to the extreme, resulting in such dense grilles that very little space was left for representing the second plan (fig. 854-861). The rhythmic quality of parallel verticals in repetition appealed so much that often the exercise became an end in itself. In such cases the artists' interest lied with the decorative patterning, and at times even approached abstraction (fig. 861). The tree, as an integral component of most landscapes, was ascribed multiple roles in Japanese art, serving as, for instance, a structural device placed in the foreground and dividing the pictorial plane into autonomous sections. Its first-plan position entailed focused attention on depicting the motif itself (fig. 862-868). In Japan, whether depicting the ubiquitous pine or other types of Japanese trees artists often intended to invest their works with auspicious connotations. Where the tree was given priority as the central feature of a composition, one discerns a sort of reverence for it. This was rooted in the indigenous Shintô spirituality teaching that kami (spiritual essence) reside in all manifestations of nature. The innate spiritual force of trees was made tangible in Polish transpositions of the theme, in particular in those cases, again modelled on Japanese precedents, where the trees are animated by external forces of nature such as rain or wind (fig. 865-866).

Equally significant for the art of Polish Modernism were Japanese representations of mountains. We have already seen that Wyczółkowski and his student Weiss inaugurated a fresh approach to depicting mountainous views. It consisted in the *pars pro toto* principle, which in turn entailed unexpected cadrage and a potential for developing highly decorative visual schemes. Very few works can be traced to specific Japanese prototypes, but Stanisławski's *Moon Night* (fig. 870) is an exception. When paired with Hiroshige's *Mt Utsu at Okabe* (fig. 869) from *Fifty-Three Stations of the Tokaidô Highway* (available to the artist from a number of sources in Cracow), the similarity becomes apparent. Although these two works feature disparate localities, a gorge and rural scene and a plateau respectively, the

¹⁰³ Polish tradition has coined a phrase *Złota Polska Jesień* (Polish Golden Autumn), which encapsulates the nation's reverence of the season.

choice of colours and the distribution and arrangement of 'chromatic blocks' indicate a direct relationship. In this case Stanisławski was enamoured of Hiroshige's sense of the decorative and it was this quality that he set out to emanate in *Moon Night*. Cracow's proximity to the Tatra Mountains facilitated the development of the mountainous landscape. The town of Zakopane, among others, was frequented by artists, including the students of Cracow Academy of Fine Arts, with a view to finding inspiration and an opportunity to practice the lessons taught by Japanese art (fig. 871-875, 877-882).

Another motif observed in Japanese landscape and translated into the Polish context in certain works was the cloud. Of the multiple Japanese applications of this iconographical item (the carrier of deities, a means of obscuring certain views as for example the keep of the shogunal castle, or as a substitution of the middle ground in compositions devoid of linear perspective), only the decorative capacity of the cloud was incorporated into Polish painting (fig. 883-885). Finally, the conspicuous use of the central meaningful void was often borrowed by Polish artists and used in works with an ascetic dimension (fig. 886-888).

Polish Kachô-ga

An obvious extension of landscape painting is the depiction of flora and fauna, as representing the animate realm of natural phenomena. The pre-modern occidental tradition of painting plants and animals – having developed in the Renaissance convention of mimesis – differed fundamentally from its East Asian counterpart. The botanical works by Georg Dionysius Ehret or Michał Boym (fig. 1-4), the flower compositions of Fantin-Latour, or the animal imagery of Albrecht Dürer aimed at as realistic rendering as the medium allowed, a quasi-scientific approach of scrutiny under the magnifying glass. Japanese objectives were less restricted and resulted in images that still often retained a high degree of faithfulness to reality, but alongside a tendency to synthesise and conventionalise natural forms. Plant and animal pictures (*kachô-ga*) created by the poetically realistic Maruyama Shijō painters, those of the Kanō and Tosa schools, Kōetsu, Sōtatsu, Kōrin, Hōitsu, Sosen, Kiyomasu, Shigenaga, Utamaro, Watanabe Kakushū, Watanabe Seitei, the artist of the 12th-century *Scroll of Frolicking Animals* (*Chōjū giga*), and many others, display a flavour for patterning and a decorative tendency, without losing the resemblance to actuality.

The richness and diversity of Japanese plant and animal representations has been traditionally ascribed to the unfeigned Japanese devotion to nature, which was conditioned by Zen reverence to all natural phenomena (Hillier 1961, 40; Stern 1976). This view was partially challenged in 2007 by Daniel McKee and Henk Hervig, who demonstrated that the

touting of the Japanese sympathetic intimacy with the natural world came to the fore only in the early 20th century as part of the nationalistic tradition of ‘discussions of Japaneseness’ (Nihonjinron). It was then that the Japanese word for nature – shizen – was coined (Schaap & van Gukik 2007). McKee and Hervig explained that the choice of animals (their research focused only on this subcategory of kachô-ga) for representation in art had for centuries been dictated by specific preferences of the different Japanese social classes. Thus the high echelons of the court favoured elegant animals with gentle demeanour: cranes, deer, pheasants, ducks, oxen and domesticated horses; the warrior elite preferred birds of prey and tigers; whereas middle-class merchants opted for the rat as symbolic of an excess of rice and by extension an emblem of wealth. Hervig detected a change in the Japanese perception of kachô-ga at the beginning of the 20th century:

By this time kachô-ga were no longer advertised as sophisticated artefacts full of emblematic connotations that could be only valued by the well-educated (they) were now accessible to a wide audience that appreciated kachô-ga as romantic and peaceful appreciation of nature. (2007)

McKee and Hervig are concerned with particular choices of motifs and themes – an issue explainable by social stratification of society, rather than with answering the question why the majority of preferred iconography belong to the realm of flora and fauna. This issue remains accounted for by means of the Japanese innate affinity to nature.

The above cited quote by Hervig also corresponds to the manner in which kachô-ga was received in Europe and America. The symbolic connotations appropriate to Japanese or East Asian culture were largely illegible to the western artist, and often differed from those that had been assigned to the same motifs by western cultures. For example, unlike in the case of Japan, it is hard to imagine any positive or auspicious symbolism attached to the rat in Europe. What appealed to the western recipient of Japanese plant and animal imagery was their new form and their decorative value. The soft and lyrical style typical of the brushwork-oriented aesthetic derived from the Japanese literati painting, the attractiveness of ink morphing into animal shapes, their appeal and playfulness, as well as the decorativeness of the expressive line and the patterning of the design often presented against a neutral background – were the attractions for the western artist.

It has been pointed out that Polish landscape painting was one of the most popular genres in the art of Polish Modernism, and that its philosophical basis converged with Japanese outlooks on nature. Similar statement may be made with regards to Polish plant and animal painting, which also benefited from the example of Japanese art. Japanese models were available to Polish artists in the printed books from Jasiński’s collection. Among them

one finds designs by Hiroshige, Kuniyoshi and Utamaro. The latter's examples included *Ehon mushi erabi* (The Insect Book) from 1788 and later reproductions of inferior quality. Apart from Jasieński's and other Polish collections, the sources for Japanese imagery of this sort came from the reproductions in books and magazines assembled by the library at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts, in particular the complete collection of Bing's *Le Japon artistique*. In addition, such designs were represented in various exhibitions abroad, most notably the 1878 Exposition Universelle in Paris.

Modernism was the first period in the history of Polish art, when pictures of flora and fauna were treated as independent subjects and gradually became an autonomous genre. The role of Japanese *kachô-ga* seems to have been that of a catalyst for a renewed interest in this type in Poland. The Japanese example made this type much more current in the Modernist period, and subsequently the genre peaked, as we shall see, in the interwar period. Among the earliest transpositions of Japanese *kachô-ga*, were Józef Chełmoński's paintings (fig. 71-75). Stanisławski and his students, both during their time at the Academy and afterwards, also made numerous paintings and drawings of plants and animals. These also followed Japanese pictorial devices. The mentor of this group provided representative examples (fig. 896-899, 904, 907, 913). His Japanese-inspired approach to the theme is evident in the works by Makowski (fig. 911), Stanisław Masłowski (fig. 895, 908-909, 914), Karpiński (fig. 935), Kamocki (fig. 910), Trusz (fig. 900), Nowakowski (fig. 901), Ziomek (fig. 902), and Kazimierz Łotocki (fig. 905-906).

By far the best representative of this genre in Poland at the time under consideration was Wojciech Weiss, both in terms of the quantity of produced works and their artistic quality. Besides, the virtual compendium of plant and animal imagery he generated closely adhere to Japanese aesthetics, undoubtedly more so than any other Polish artist's work at the time. Not only was he familiar with *kachô-ga* from Poland and abroad, but he collected this type himself (fig. 408-411). There is also ample evidence in the form of the artist's personal notes that Weiss observed his subjects in nature in his garden and the surrounding countryside in Kalwaria.¹⁰⁴ Most of his interpretations of *kachô-ga* were painted during the white period, but he continued to create them also after 1912. The majority of them, rarely or never exhibited, were executed in ink, watercolour and pencil, invariably placing the subjects against neutral backgrounds of white or brown paper. One discerns in them elements of Japanese *sumi-e*, the gaudy colour schemes of the Maruyama Shijô School, and

¹⁰⁴ Some of Wojciech Weiss's notes were published in *Szkicownik Wojciecha Weiss'a* (Juszczak 1976), but the bulk of them have never been published and can be found in the family's archive. I am grateful to Ms Renata Weiss for making the archive available to me.

reverberations of ukiyo-e woodblock prints. His 'lexicon' of natural forms includes: a broad variety of plant motifs, cats, cockerels and hens, ducks, frogs, turkeys, pigeons, and sparrows (fig. 127-141, 957-998, and 1000-1026). A single glance at Utamaro's *Ehon mushi erabi* (Picture Book of Selected Insects) (1788) (fig. 999), which was accessible to Weiss in Jasieński's collection, makes the artist's source obvious. The similarity is so clear that many of Weiss's renditions of *kachô-ga* appear to have been 'taken out of' Utamaro's book.

It is also likely that Weiss was encouraged by his mentor Wyczółkowski to take up painting plants and animals. In Wyczółkowski's oeuvre from the Young Poland period, paintings of animals are very rare, but instead he gladly painted flowers (fig. 912, 919, 922-930, 932-934, 936). These, however, display an entirely different style from Weiss's *kachô-ga*. The colour range of his flower compositions is much broader, and rarely do they feature plain backgrounds rendered in delicate pastel hues, although such pictures are also present. *Autumn Bush* (1904) (fig. 919) is an example of Japonisme par excellence not only on account of its theme and compositional structure, but also because the artist endowed it with a Japanese-styled red cartouche in the right bottom corner containing Wyczółkowski's signature. His interest in Chinese and Japanese plant painting, confirmed by the 2011 exhibition of the artist's collection of art (donated to the National Museum in Poznań in 1921), which featured many Chinese and Japanese examples of pictorial art adorned with this type of iconography (National Museum in Poznań & Leon Wyczółkowski Museum in Bydgoszcz). Wyczółkowski's *kachô-ga* transpositions would become one of the dominant themes in his oeuvre of the interwar period.

Certain works by Karol Frycz, an artist whose diverse Japonisme will be examined in the next chapter, fall in the category of *kachô-ga*, but from the point of view of the technique, two are rare within the art of Polish Modernism (fig. 937-938). The method in question is paper cut-out, which Frycz learned during his studies with Alfred Roller at the Kunstgewerbeschule in Vienna in the academic year 1902/1903 (Kuchtówna 1999). Roller, who was a precursor of modern poster art in Austria and a founding member of the Viennese Secession, adopted for his designs Japanese ornamentation and the planar quality of Japanese art. His work was featured in the 1994 exhibition Japonisme in Vienna (Wieninger 1994). As an art teacher he paid special attention to the use of a variety of mediums and techniques, with a particular preference for paper. As for the themes and motifs that he used in his teaching, rabbits, crows, hens and parrots took priority (Fliedl, 1986), making his education an exercise in *kachô-ga*. Frycz's *Brood Hen with Chickens* (fig. 938) was shown in the school exhibition of 1903, but unfortunately the catalogue for it has not survived. Frycz made the cut-out from small navy blue, brown and purple pieces of bookbinding paper applied with glue to the base in a way resembling a mosaic. The distribution of areas of strong colour and the juxtaposition

of larger patches of intricate pattern were derived from the Japanese woodblock, but are also present in the pattern-oriented Japanese-inspired works by Gustav Klimt (fig. 939-940). Klimt's interpretations of large and small-scale patterns – partially derived from the decadents of ukiyo-e Kuniyoshi and Kunisada – were familiar to Frycz by 1903 through numerous illustrations in *Ver Sacrum* (Berger 1980, 300).

Frycz's cut-outs are readily recognizable, not just as instances of Japonisme, but as examples of its Viennese version. They grew out of Roller's technique and his *kachô-ga* themes, Klimt's interest in patterning, and the linoleum prints of Franz Cižek's school (1865-1946), evocative of the 1920s Viennese Kineticism. The latter's work owed a debt to Japanese textile design popularised in Vienna through Japanese fabrics and *katagami* – Japanese paper dyeing stencils (fig. 941-942). Cižek, like Roller and Frycz, also produced bird compositions (fig. 943).

Frycz's form of collage predated the Cubist collage constructions introduced to western art in 1912. Although paper cut-outs had existed in Poland before as the form of expression in Polish folk art¹⁰⁵, Frycz is credited with extending this technique to the sphere of fine art. Soon thereafter paper collage gained acceptance among other Polish artists including Stanisławski and Sichulski. The only other extant collage *kachô-ga* by Frycz is *Guinea Hens with a Garden in the Background* (fig. 937). Frycz's collages are instances of manifold direct and indirect inspiration: Roller, Klimt, Cižek; but ones that ultimately can be traced to ukiyo-e and *katagami*.

Other interesting examples of Polish interpretations of floral *kachô-ga* came from Boznańska (fig. 893-894), Jan Bułas (fig. 916), Wojtkiewicz (fig. 920), Okuń (fig. 931), Sichulski (fig. 917-918), and Wacław Szymanowski (fig. 915); whereas representations of animals inspired by Japanese art featured in the works of Jan Skotnicki (fig. 950), Sichulski (fig. 947), Stabrowski (fig. 944-946, 948), Fałat (fig. 951-952), Wilhelm Wyrwiński (fig. 946) and Tadeusz Rychter (fig. 953).

Although not related to *kachô-ga*, but nonetheless a representation of an animal, Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz's interpretation of the Greek myth of Heracles slaying the Nemean lion (fig. 956) appears to have been inspired by East Asian pictures of lions, either as sole subjects or in the company of Daruma (fig. 955). The artist most probably was unaware of the fundamental difference between these two relationships: on the one hand, the one between Heracles and the lion, and on the other, Daruma and the lion. The former is defined

¹⁰⁵ The Polish folk tradition of paper cut-outs has been identified by Dorr Bothwell as one of the popular manifestations of the universal design principle known in Japan as *nôtan*, which became one of the three components, alongside line and colour, of the art educational programme introduced to America by Arthur Wesley Dow (Bothwell, 1991).

by hostility, unlike the latter. Nonetheless, Witkacy¹⁰⁶ may have made an arbitrary and opportunistic decision to appropriate this East Asian style of painting for his pastel rendition of a Greek/Roman legend. The nearly identical colour schemes, the nondescript backgrounds with hints of undulating hews, clear contours of varying thickness, as well as the stylised line-covered face, claws and tail of the lion, support the hypothesis.

Caricature

Kachô-ga, or more precisely one subcategory of it – namely the imagery of birds and other animals, was significant for the development of Polish Modernist caricature. Although humorous representations of humans morphed into animals had been present both in Polish and European art before the encounter with Japanese art in the 19th century, the profusion of this type of caricature in the work of one of the most prominent Polish caricaturists of the time Kazimierz Sichulski, in my view, can be accounted for by his familiarity with Japanese art. Sichulski was a permanent fixture in the circle of the Cracow artistic haunt Michalik's Den, a venue frequented by many Polish Japonistes, where many of Sichulski's caricatures were created. To this day his work showing Jasieński and Wyczółkowski atop a giant bird of prey in flight on their way to Japan (fig. 305) adorns its interior. While being a pastiche of Hiroshige's prints through the inclusion of Hiroshige-styled cartouches containing Polish inscriptions, the painting is also a caricature of its two characters. This type is also represented by another pastel entitled *Wyczół w Japonii* (Wyczół in Japan) – a caricature of the artist clad in Japanese attire (fig. 1027).

These two works are evidence for Sichulski's interest in Japanese art, but his debt to kachô-ga is evident in numerous other travesties depicting his friends and public figures in the guise of half-human and half-animal creatures. As mentioned before, such imagery was as old as caricature itself, and in general should not be regarded uncritically as Japanese inspiration, but the fact that Sichulski was a zealous Japoniste, as well as the specific choice of animals for his hybrid portraits, that is: birds, cats and insects (the stuff of kachô-ga) point to a precise source of inspiration – Japan. Human-animal caricature constituted a large proportion of his work. He portrayed Jan Stanisławski as a giant cockerel (fig. 1028), Damazy Kotowski as a foreshortened cat (fig. 1029), and Tymon Niesiołowski (fig. 1036), Teodor Axentowicz (fig. 1033), Kazimierz Dłuski (fig. 1034), Stefan Żeromski (fig. 1035), and

¹⁰⁶ Witkacy was S. I. Witkiewicz's alias, by which he became known in differentiation from his father Stanisław Witkiewicz.

Stanisław Dębicki as birds. His visual critique of contemporary clergy assumed the form of a scorpion with a rosary (fig. 930), while Ludwik Solski was represented as a monkey (fig. 1031). This method was adopted by other artists, including Fryderyk Pautsch, who likened Wyczółkowski's physiognomy to that of a falcon (fig. 1037).

Danuta Muszanka pointed out another approach to caricature that links Sichulski's work with that of Hokusai (1977, 154). Hokusai did not have in mind humour when he created the compendium of human poses in his *Manga*, but the partial nudity he included therein, otherwise a universal source of humour, provided models for numerous artists. The caricature of Kornel Makuszyński (fig. 1039) draws on such examples, but at the same time is evocative of Japanese Zen ink painting of patriarchs and sages in contemplation (fig. 1040). Its typically monochrome composition characterised by an economy of brushstrokes and the wash-drawing technique where the line ranges from sharp-edged, focused to blurry, against the primal surface of the paper are also present in Sichulski's portrait of Witkiewicz (fig. 26). An even more clear-cut Japanese inspiration is evident in the caricature of Jerzy Leszczyński (fig. 1043). Here Sichulski used ukiyo-e as the point of departure, and from within its tradition most probably two different specific sources. The main character sits naked in what appears to be a spacious bath tub made of wood, gazing into a mirror held in his hand. The angle at which the artist captured the figure as well as the treatment of the hairline at the back of his neck is unmistakably taken from prints by Utamaro (fig. 1044-1046). Because all Utamaro's beauties with a mirror are clad, unlike Sichulski's character, the artist must have also drawn on the imagery of the bathing houses of the Yoshiwara pleasure quarters, where the motif of a nude female with her back towards the beholder was extremely common (fig. 1047-1048). Although not a caricature, Axentowicz's work entitled *Spring* (fig. 1042) also features a beauty looking into a small hand-held mirror, and is likely to have been inspired by ukiyo-e.

Feliks Jasieński, being a central figure of Polish Japonisme, as well as an enfant terrible of Polish Modernism, naturally became a favoured subject of caricature, which often featured literal references to Japan. For example, in another work by Sichulski, Jasieński carries a sack on his back which in fact turns out to be a Japanese kimono adorned with the motif of a dragon (fig. 512). The kimono-sack contains Leon Wyczółkowski. Another substantial subcategory of caricature containing direct quotations of Japanese themes or motifs were humorous drawings on the subject of the Russo-Japanese war, a good example being *The Latest 'Kulturträger' in the Far East* by Witold Wojtkiewicz (fig. 1041), showing a fight between a Russian soldier and a Japanese Kabuki actor attired in traditional dress – a scene inconceivable in reality.

Hanna Górka pointed out the importance of Japanese art for the introduction of the decorative energetic line and the contour approach to drawing in the genre of Polish

caricature of the Young Poland period (1977, 124). What also went through a change inspired by Japanese art were the conventions governing the representations of the female figure. The C-shaped and S-shaped female figures elegantly stylised by Moronobu, Harunobu, Utamaro, Eishi and many other ukiyo-e artists lent the idea for the creation of the Art Nouveau vision of the slender, statuesque, erotically poised femme fatale of the fin de siècle. Although the curved female figure was ubiquitous in ukiyo-e, it was Torii Kiyonaga, who by the 1780s became the leader of the movement toward extremely large figures (Lane 1978, 130). The large-limbed, wholesome beauties, both women and men, created by Kiyonaga (fig. 1049-1050) and his followers Katsukawa Shunchô and Kubo Shumman provided inspiration for much of Polish Modernist caricature. Among the artists who adopted this approach were Witold Wojtkiewicz (fig. 1051), Karol Frycz (fig. 1052) and Stanisław Rzecki-Szreniawa (fig. 1053). The method of depicting the human figure in these works was appropriated from Japanese art, but so were the formats approximated to the pillar print, the use of the neutral background and broad stains of flat colour. Finally, not unlike many ukiyo-e prototypes which represent the world of Kabuki theatre, these three caricatures depict famous theatre actresses in specific roles.

Japonisme in Graphic Arts

Japanese art, and in particular the Japanese woodblock print, was among the decisive factors in the process of emancipation of western graphic arts from the hitherto merely reproductive and illustrative functions. In Western Europe, this turning point, which ushered an era of printmaking no longer regarded as inferior to painting and literature, occurred in the 1860s. From that decade until the end of the 19th century most of the advocates and propagators of graphic arts as an equal form of artistic expression to painting were simultaneously the main players of 19th-century Japonisme. Etching was popularised by Félix Bracquemond, Philippe Burty, Whistler, and Jules and Edmond de Goncourt, who were associated with Salon des Refusés (Kossowska 2000, 13-14). During the 1890s the French artistic scene was dominated by lithography. The decorative value of colour lithography was emphasised by Lautrec, Vuillard, Bonnard, Denis and Carrière. Actively involved in the movement were also Degas, Cézanne, Redon and Fantin-Latour. Gauguin's prints made during his stay in Tahiti between 1892 and 1893 were at the forefront of the woodblock printing revival (Kossowska 2000, 16). Other proponents of the woodblock medium included Vallotton, Walter Crane, Edward Burne-Jones, Aubrey Beardsley, Henri Rivière, Emil Orlik and Frank Morley Fletcher.

The nobilitation of drawing, whether in ink, chalk, pencil or charcoal, as an artistic medium on par with painting ran parallel with the emancipation of printmaking. Here again certain types of Japanese art, such as sumi-e or calligraphy served as valid examples. In fact, in East Asia calligraphy was always more highly regarded than painting. As Irena Kossowska pointed out, the reappraisal of the aesthetics of black-and-white appropriate to the majority of drawing techniques preceded the time when printmaking became to be seen as an autonomous and fully valid form of art. Furthermore, elevating the status of drawing acted as a catalyst in the printmaking revival (Kossowska 2000, 17).

In comparison with Western Europe, the nobilitation of graphic arts in Poland was delayed by about three decades. Around 1900, however, this branch of artistic creation saw a virtual explosion of inspiration, soon yielding prolific results of high artistic value. Remarkably, just like in France, England, Germany and Scandinavia, the development of Polish graphic arts was stimulated by those who also propagated Japonisme. Japanese art also provided concrete models for formal and stylistic solutions as well as thematic inspirations adopted by Polish graphic artists during the first four decades of the 20th century. Feliks Jasiński, the most ardent advocate of Japanese art and culture in Poland, was simultaneously the greatest connoisseur, collector and promoter of graphic arts in the country. Besides Japanese art, his collection comprised graphic works by Carrière, Denis, Bonnard, Bracquemond, Fantin-Latour, Gauguin, Mucha, Pissarro, Puvis de Chavannes, Redon, Rivière, Sisley, Signac, Vallotton, Vuillard and Whistler. This list, if taken out of context, could be interpreted as a catalogue of artists inspired by Japanese art.

On the occasion of the 1901 Varsovian exhibition of Japanese art Jasiński provided an extended commentary on the history and principles of Japanese woodblock printing tradition, as well as on the aesthetics employed therein (Jasiński 1901). He was supported by a relatively small circle of progressive critics, who stressed the resourcefulness of ukiyo-e's formal specificities, its economy of means of expression, the ingenuity of its synthetic expression of shapes, and the decorative nature achieved by harmonies of line and colour. They were also impressed by the multitude of iconographical material utilised by the Japanese woodblock artists. But certain critics went too far in their eulogising of the Japanese woodblock, in particular its role in shaping western modern aesthetics. Tadeusz Jaroszyński's sweeping statement, for example, read:

All contemporary art, known under the label of modernism, so refined and sophisticated in its manifestations originated from it (Japanese woodblock P.S.). All this aesthetic sybaritism, as it were, that today seduces artists and connoisseurs, had already had a long tradition in Japan. (Jaroszyński 1901, 153)

Zenon Przesmycki, another campaigner for both Japonisme and the elevation of graphic arts in Poland, summed up well the importance of Jasieński's Warsaw exhibitions for the development of graphic arts in Poland:

Warsaw had the opportunity to become familiar for the first time with the Japanese woodblock, along with full collections of drawings and etchings by Dürer and Rembrandt (in first-rate facsimiles), excellent copperplates by the Piranesi, colour woodcuts by Rivière, and Klinger's etchings. (...) Their noteworthiness is magnified by the influence they exerted on local collectors, alerting them by way of example to the possibility and necessity of counteracting – the still growing and potentially paralysing the development of art – aesthetic atrophy of the nation. Indeed, soon after Mr Jasieński's exhibitions, a long-awaited boom ensued! The Krywult Salon began to alternate its compulsory 'machines' with artistically significant exhibitions, among others, black-and-white and colour etchings and lithographs, which naturally are rejected by the public and even to certain 'artists' are simply craft, or in any case something much more inferior than oil painting. (Przesmycki 1902, 352)

It is remarkable, that apart from Western European graphic arts – which often absorbed aspects of Japanese art anyway – ukiyo-e was the only other model offered by Jasieński and Przesmycki as an example to emulate in developing Polish graphic arts. In February 1906, The Society of Friends of Fine Arts in Cracow mounted an exhibition of ukiyo-e prints bequeathed by Jasieński to the National Museum in Cracow. It included works by Hokusai, Hiroshige, Utamaro, Kuniyoshi, Toyokuni, Harunobu and Kunisada, but paintings by the Rimpa school artist Ogata Kōrin were also shown. Irena Kossowska linked this exhibition with the beginning of the renaissance of Polish graphic arts (Kossowska 2000, 28). The guide for the exhibition reiterated the richness of the Japanese woodblock and its technical perfection:

Besides flowers, birds and women's clothes, we see legendary heroes' and rulers' deeds, daimyo's mansions, and the lives of commoners. These works contain verism, stylisation and mysticism, literature and anecdote. All this, however, in such quantities as is desirable in art; none of it ever takes the foreground at the cost of the overall appearance. (...) All Japanese art impresses the beholder with its harmony, never disturbed and always combining content and form into a perfect entity. (...) What was Japanese artists' main objective? The creation of symphonies in colour, almost never ethnography or portraiture. (Jasieński 1906 b, 3)

The first serious periodical devoted to graphic arts in Polish lands was the *Poradnik Graficzny* published in Cracow between 1905 and 1906. An article by an unknown author placed in it in 1906 extolled the merits of the Japanese woodblock tradition, implicitly endorsing it as a point of departure in the development of Polish graphic arts:

Japanese woodblock is not only the ideal example of the woodblock technique, it is an art, perhaps less familiar to us, but indeed as excellent as the classical sculpture of the Hellenes, the works of Renaissance masters, and those of more recent times. The genius of Japan expressed itself with utmost greatness and power in the colour woodcut. (...) Whereas the European artist first observes and gathers the details, only then to compose them into one coherent entity, the Japanese one embraces the whole vision from the start and often with one stroke or a few lines endows it with a great deal of life, movement and character. (...) They are sketches, and at the same time finished works of art, so much so that sometimes a mere one more line would deprive them of the charm and beauty of their straightforwardness. (Poradnik Graficzny 1906, vol. 2)

The terseness and succinctness of the Japanese style of expression, praised by the author of the above quote, resonated with Jasieński's views on what constitutes value in art, and especially in drawing. In his *Manggha promenades à travers le monde, l'art et les idées*, he wrote:

I personally prefer much more the sketch to the finished work. To me the greatest value in a work of art is the artist's personality. In a sketch, this personality explodes boisterously; inspiration and talent ooze; the artist creates being preoccupied with one thought – the idea of creation, and records his intention instantaneously. (...) If the talent is formidable, all that determines it is discernible in the sketch as opposed to the later and always unavoidable enfeeblement (in the finished work P.S.). Even the errors are precious, but in a work reproduced anew, corrected, modified even in the slightest degree or unknowingly, these errors disappear, at least partially. (Miodońska-Brookes, 1992, 206)

Numerous statements by Jasieński, including several passages in his *Manggha*, position Japanese drawings as an example of ultimate perfection, emphasising their laconism, unsurpassed ability to evoke an illusion of a wide spectrum of colours by means of only black and white, as well as their adroitness in conveying movement. Therefore, his campaign for new graphic arts in Poland employed the following trajectory: from ukiyo-e, Japanese draughtsmanship and ink painting to Polish drawing to Polish graphic arts.

In order to provide a fuller picture of Japonisme in Polish graphic arts of the period under discussion (1901-1918), one needs to go back by a few years to the last decade of the 19th century when the Polish born artist Feliks Jasiński, who assumed French citizenship, enjoyed the reputation of one of Europe's most distinguished draughtsmen and printmakers (Smith 2009, 34). Jasiński's interpretative engravings of the 1890s, despite critical acclaim in Western Europe, did not find a receptive audience in Poland until much later, whereas his original graphic works, which he produced around 1900, had not been made known to the Polish public until 1934, when they were shown in a retrospective exhibition at The Society of Friends of Fine Arts in Warsaw (Liczbińska 1974, 321). On the one hand, chronologically, Jasiński's oeuvre falls into the latter half of the 19th century, the era when Polish Japonisme

was almost entirely dependent on Western European prototypes – as discussed in the previous chapter. In fact, Jasiński's career was not home-grown at all but instead virtually removed from the Polish artistic scene, as he spent most of his adult life in Belgium, Paris, Ballancourt and London. On the other, however, besides Pankiewicz's first, albeit rather successful, attempts at graphic arts, Jasiński's original graphic output had no counterpart in Poland at the end of the 19th century, and therefore belongs both stylistically and in terms of the time it reached Poland to the early 20th century. Both his close relationship with Félix Vallotton and the exposure to Japanese art in late 19th century Paris, most importantly in his case the 1890 *Maîtres de l'estampe japonaise* exhibition, organised by Bing at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris, proved consequential for the emergence and development of Jasiński's Japonisme. Whereas Vallotton was both a painter and a graphic artist, Jasiński devoted himself exclusively to the latter occupation. One of the reasons for his choice of the hitherto marginal medium of woodblock was the fact that he was colour-blind, and working with the black-and-white aesthetic allowed him maximum confidence.¹⁰⁷

The 1890 exhibition mounted by Bing included Japanese art that had never been shown in the West before, namely the prints by the so-called 'Primitives' that is the early ukiyo-e artists active before the invention of the colour woodcut technique in 1765. The early book illustrations and prints by the Kambun Master, Hishikawa Moronobu, Sugimura Jihei, Yoshida Hambei, Nishikawa Sukenobu, Kiyonobu, Kiyomasu, Kaigetsudô Ando and his school, Okumura Masanobu, and others were essentially black-and-white designs, only sometimes coloured by hand. Both Vallotton and Jasiński found this monochromatic approach attractive and applied it to their compositions. Jasiński adopted the sketch-like manner of the 'Primitives', with its drastic reduction of unimportant detail, inviting the beholder to extend the laconic image by means of one's imagination. His figural compositions (fig. 1054-1061) are confined in compressed spaces. The human figures appear to have been cut out and pasted onto the representational surface and despite overlapping there is no impression of depth of space, but instead a transposition into two dimensions. The juxtaposition of heavily patterned areas with 'empty' spaces is also borrowed from early ukiyo-e. The schematised, filtered to pure essentials human faces in *Woman and Man in a Pond* (fig. 1055), *The Creation of Woman* (fig. 1054), *Self-portrait with a Caterpillar* (fig. 1058), and *Temptation* (fig. 1059) are reminiscent of the conventionalised formula employed by much of Japanese art, and some (fig. 1060) approach the yamato-e technique for rendering faces – hikime kagihana (lit. slit eyes, hooked nose). Certain figures, according to Irena

¹⁰⁷ Jasiński opted for the longitudinal woodcut, one where a board is cut along the stem resulting in jars and fibres running parallel to the edge of the board.

Kossowska, were intended as Japanese, as for example the background domineering face of the temptress in *Temptation* (Kossowska 2000, 184). The same source provides us with the valuable information on Jasiński's interest in Japanese art, gleaned from the pages of the artist's sketchbook filled with Japanese motifs (Kossowska 2000, 184). Jasiński's self-portrait (fig. 1058) diagonally aligned and with the artist's facial expression transfixed as in the dramatic poses of Kabuki actors represented in ukiyo-e, features centrally positioned insect, which hints at Jasiński's familiarity with kachô-ga. One of the more popular themes practiced by the 'Primitives' was shunga (lit. spring pictures) that is erotic and often by western modern standards pornographic imagery. Jasiński's interpretations do not depict overtly sexual scenes; however, the salacious content of some of them (fig. 1054-1055, 1057-1059) approximates them at least to the less carnal sub-genre of shunga – abuna-e (lit. risqué pictures).

A rhythmical organisation achieved through the introduction of pulsating undulating line filling the areas representing human hair, grains of wood or water surfaces, underlies all Jasiński's compositions and is a pronounced sign of his debt to Japanese art. This tension of optically vibrating lines is also present in Jasiński's woodblocks executed in the negative technique (fig. 1061). In this case, his point of reference might have been twofold. His friend Vallotton made many such woodcut prints (fig. 1062), but it was once also a popular method among the Japanese 'Primitives'. The technique, known in Japan as mokutaku zuri-e or ishizuri-e (lit. stone-printed picture), but also as sumizuri-e, was employed in imitation of Chinese stone-rubbings in intaglio with design in white on black background. Within the ukiyo-e tradition the earliest such works were made by Okumura Masanobu (fig. 1066) and Nishimura Shigenaga in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, and in Western Europe pioneered by Emile Bernard (fig. 1063) and Paul Gauguin (fig. 1067). In Poland, this type of graphic technique was later undertaken by Antoni Procajłowicz (fig. 1064), Marian Olszewski (fig. 1065), and Władysław Skoczylas – the creator of the Polish modern woodcut school in the interwar period.¹⁰⁸ Irena Kossowska pointed out the effect Jasiński's graphics, infused with a number of Japanese woodblock characteristics, had on the works by Włodzimierz Konieczny (2000, 195). In *Standing Boy* (fig. 1068), she rightly observes the relay of Japonisme: supple line, decorative flattened forms, asymmetrical composition, and a non-descript white background. Leon Kowalski's design (fig. 1073) is also an example of 'secondary Japonisme' inspired by Jasiński's oeuvre, or similar western works, but its title *Japan* and an obvious allusion to Mt Fuji bring the Japanese connection to the fore.

¹⁰⁸ The subject of the creation of Polish National style in art, of which the woodblock print tradition was an important component, will be examined in Chapter 4.

Another consequential context of Jasiński's life in France was his connection with the Nabis. Kossowska ascribed several aspects of Jasiński's art to his familiarity with and fondness for the works of Bonnard, Vuillard, Denis and other Nabis (Kossowska 2000, 181-182). The erotic undertones, obvious in Jasiński's prints and already linked to the Japanese example, filtered through to the graphic art of Symbolism via the Nabis. Mild irony and playful wryness evident for example in *At the Edge of a Lake* (fig. 1057) were also borrowed from the Nabis, as were its near-abstract planar and decorative qualities. Berger traced all these characteristics appropriate to the Nabis to the Japanese models (1980, 215-227). Not unlike Bonnard, or Vuillard, Jasiński applied the planar construction of space to his landscapes (fig. 1069-1072, 1074). *Cemetery in Ballancourt* (fig. 1070) and *Garden in Winter* (fig. 1069) display rhythmic ensembles of verticals and horizontals, inequidistant and asymmetrical in the manner of Japanese art but also akin to the style of the Nabis. *Ballancourt at Night* (fig. 1071) evokes an impression of progression of space through the use of the Japanese compositional ploy in the foreground of the print, in this case trees, truncated by the picture frame. *On the Way* (fig. 1072) uses a stark contrast between large areas of black and white, placed with extreme asymmetrical sense of design. *Mountains by a Lake* (fig. 1074) is an instantly recognisable example of Japonisme for a number of reasons: its format approaching the Japanese pillar print (*hosoban*), the vertical layering of the pictorial plane with each stratum expressed by a different graphic pattern resulting in a Japanese-like juxtaposition of patterns, and the theme itself. All these landscapes lean towards abstraction, and the content seems to be secondary to form, which creates an overall impression in the beholder, something of a Gestalt or a coherent arabesque.

The Poznań-based artist Franciszek Zygart, educated at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts, and, as he maintained himself, indebted to the painting of Julian Fałat (Majkowski & Przybyszewski 1931), is little-known today for two reasons: his premature death in 1926 and the majority of his works being lost during World War II. Today most of his extant works exist in the form of photographic black and white reproductions. Their appearance is closer to graphic art than painting, despite the fact that they in fact represent the latter category. Furthermore, they resemble the negative (white design on black background) type, and for this reason they are included in this section. Their Japonisme cannot be doubted, as they make direct references to Japan. In *King of the Seas* (fig. 1077), the figure of an imaginary aquatic ruler was rendered as if he had just materialised from the upper frothy registers of Hokusai-esque waves. Its highly decorative value consists in the intricate minute pattern. An even more readily recognisable allusion to Japan is present in *Japanese Night* (fig. 1076). Here Zygart created a design of not one but a series of snow-covered Mt Fujis with a figure of a Japanese woman in front of them, all of which is interspersed with intricately patterned

motifs. His *Art* (fig. 1075) adopts Japanese format – hashira-e, within which pictorial registers are stacked in emulation of Japanese models.

The earliest original graphic works created in Poland appeared as the result of direct instigation by Feliks Jasiński. Pankiewicz, Wyczółkowski, Stanisławski, Weiss, and Franciszek Siedlecki were personally encouraged by Jasiński to try their strengths in graphic media. Chronologically, Pankiewicz's attempts preceded all the others. Ewa Milicer pointed out that in spite of Pankiewicz's admiration for Whistler's prints, he stressed repeatedly that he never intended to emulate Whistler (2006, xxx). Nonetheless, the parallels between the graphic works by these two artists were emphasised by Irena Kossowska (2000, 78, 117-125). She noted that the relationship between Pankiewicz and Whistler has been addressed only with reference to painting, and entirely ignored with respect to their graphic output. Having contrasted *The Little Lagoon* by Whistler (fig. 1078) with *Omi hakkei* by Okumura Masanobu (fig. 1079), Klaus Berger concluded:

The *Little Lagoon* of 1880 has fused the motif into a vertical view in which water, land and sky flow into each other on a flat surface. A decentralised, non-directional movement keeps the image in tension, 'empty' though it is in literal terms. The sparse network of lines no longer has the function of defining the objects: it dissolves them into short strokes that bunch or separate to form differing graphic signs. Whistler is not really concerned with objective topographical correctness but only with translation, original vision, and artistic purity. It is fascinating to watch the line omitting altogether, leaping, dancing, fining itself down, and thus forming itself into a 'capricious shorthand of drawing' which marks one of the supreme achievements of European printmaking. (1980, 46)

Early etchings by Pankiewicz are clearly inspired by the approach described above. *Pińsk Canal in Polesie II* (fig. 1080) utilises early Japanese perspective that is one unaffected by the European linear perspective employed by later ukiyo-e artists and most pronounced in uki-e imagery, but also appropriate to the rangaku (Dutch studies) artists such as Shiba Kōkan. It consists in vertical layering of pictorial planes, and is invariably associated with a high vantage point. Pankiewicz also adopts a system of shorthand signs, termed by Berger as residual graphismes (Berger 1980, 47); as well as the active role of 'empty' pictorial space. The difference between Whistler and Masanobu as exemplified by this juxtaposition was identified by Berger as the presence in the former and lack in the latter of 'fading of tonality'. Pankiewicz's non-tonal print is closer to the Japanese work than its Whistlerian interpretation. Although Pankiewicz used western-style shading in *Pont Neuf in Paris* (fig. 1081), *The Apse of Notre Dame in Paris* (fig. 1082), *Port in Fécamp* (fig. 1083), and *Fishing Boat in Concarneau* (fig. 1084), their Japanese genealogies manifest themselves in the motifs, their cropped cadres, drastic foreshortening and asymmetrical compositions.

When examining Pankiewicz's Japonisme present in his prints, it is important to remember that prior to his first graphic steps, at a time when his painting gravitated between Academicism and Impressionism, early heralds of Japanese inspirations surfaced in his drawings and ink paintings (fig. 1085-1087). Their monochromaticism, often capable of conveying a rich spectrum of hues, compositional arrangements reminiscent of much of East Asian art and motifs characteristic of *kachô-ga* may be treated as a prelude to Pankiewicz's later Japonisme in the graphic mediums. His attitude to nature, described by Milicer as typical of both Whistler and *ukiyo-e* artists, avoided its reproduction, and instead opted for its artistic transposition. As for the materials used, Pankiewicz – whenever affordable – used Japanese paper, but mostly European-produced paper made according to Japanese recipes (Milicer 2006, xxxii).

Feliks Jasiński's Japanese-inspired woodblocks created around 1900 (discussed above) were largely unknown in Poland until the interwar period. According to Irena Kossowska, *Poplars by the Water* (fig. 1088) – a variation on Stanisławski's favourite theme, published in 1901 in *Chimera* – were inspired by Jasiński's woodcuts (2000, 52). It is true that Stanisławski often travelled to France and sometimes visited his friend Jasiński, but not in 1900. The horizontally elongated format of Stanisławski's print, as well as the distinctive net-like arrangement of black lines indicate another source of inspiration, namely *katagami*, collected at the time by Jasiński and some Cracow artists including Weiss, with whom Stanisławski interacted on daily basis. *Katagami* was also the point of departure for another graphic design by Stanisławski (fig. 1090), and for vignettes by Józef Mehoffer (fig. 345) and Franciszek Siedlecki (fig. 344, 346). Jasiński must have appreciated the Japanese aesthetic of Stanisławski's *Poplars by the Water* (fig. 1088) when he acquired it for his collection. *Landscape with a Birch Grove* (fig. 1092) found its way to Jasiński's collection on the same grounds. Here Stanisławski followed the Japanese in building the image from horizontally layered planes with diagonal and vertical accents, composed of flat planes of colour.

In 1903, Jasiński published the first Polish graphic arts portfolio *The Association of Polish Artists-Graveurs' Portfolio*, which included Stanisławski's *The Vistula at Tyniec* (fig. 1093). At first glance it appears to be an abstract work, but gradually the beholder comes to discern the dramatically reduced body of the Tyniec monastery complex, which takes the first plan on the right-hand side and serving as a pictorial ploy to convey the progression of space. The middle plan is occupied by an arabesque of clouds reflected in the surface of the river, demarcated by the opposite bank in the background. Examining Stanisławski's graphic works, it should be noted that although watercolour was not a common technique in his oeuvre, the few extant examples display the same Japanese qualities as his woodblocks and lithographs.

By far the most prolific graphic artist during the first four decades of the 20th century was Wyczółkowski. Among many friends of Jasiński's, he was the closest and it is thanks to Jasiński's encouragement that this already formed and well-established artist took up graphic techniques at the age of fifty. Wyczółkowski's work, particularly post-1900 may be interpreted as a continuation of Jasiński's efforts to spread the 'Japanese Gospel' among the nation. His ink, pastel and watercolour paintings; pencil and charcoal drawings, as well as lithographs were conceived to teach the Poles reverence for art and beauty through a combination of local themes on the one hand, and Japanese form, composition and worldview on the other.

In the already mentioned first Polish portfolio of graphic works from 1903, Jasiński placed Wyczółkowski's lithographic debut (fig. 1094). This portrait of Jasiński was composed asymmetrically and with additional touches of ink, brown and navy blue pigments. Before discussing his graphic oeuvre between 1903 and 1918, it should be noted that during this period he made numerous ink and watercolour paintings either in black and white or with minor traces of colour, in most of which he applied Japanese pictorial principles (fig. 833, 835-836, 838-839). These works may be regarded as the painterly equivalents of his graphic art from the same time (fig. 1095-1098). The same holds true for the graphic interpretations of his *pars pro toto* painterly visions of the Tatra Mountains made between 1904 and 1911 (fig. 1099-1103), but in these graphic versions, the contemplative pantheistic spirit is even more pronounced and their abstraction taken further. His close-up imagery of forests in winter also relates to his painted prototypes, but here these fragmentary winter landscapes attain a more intensely decorative quality. Consequently, through the use of the graphic medium Wyczółkowski progressed a step further in the direction of his ultimately Japanese models.

At the same time, Wyczółkowski created a number of graphic works strongly resembling Japanese ink paintings, always asymmetrical and dependent on stark contrasts between the whiteness of the paper, often Japanese, and the pitch-dark blackness of motifs (fig. 1104-1105). They attest to Wyczółkowski's predisposition for East Asian calligraphy, as his spontaneous lines are confident and aesthetically pleasing. The Portrait of Pablo Casala (fig. 1110) is unusual in the artist's oeuvre. It depicts the Catalan cellist and conductor sporting a hairstyle strangely suggestive of Edo male coiffures (fig. 1109), known to the artist from, for example, prints by Sharaku (fig. 1109).

An interesting instance of Japanese inspiration, and one that has been identified as traceable to a particular Japanese prototype, is *Suicide on the Vistula* (fig. 1108) by Weiss (Kossowski 1981; Weiss 2006, 16). It has been attributed to Weiss's probable contact with a print by Utagawa Kuniyoshi, reproduced as *hors texte* in the January 1891 issue of *Le Japon artistique* as *Le Suicide* (fig. 1107). There is no doubt that Weiss had access to *Le Japon*

artistique, whether through Jasieński, Dębicki, or the library at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts. He even owned individual issues of it. In Kuniyoshi's print though, a suicide is about to be committed by a couple of lovers rather than a mother with child, but otherwise the composition is uncannily similar. It is also possible that Weiss came in contact with other works by Kuniyoshi, in which the artist depicted human figures jumping off a bridge, but captured before the point of immersion. One of such works, although showing fighting warriors rather than people about to commit suicide, is Sangokushi Choban hashi no zu (The Three Kingdoms Choban Bridge) (fig. 1106). In all these three works the sideways view of the bridges' complex structure serves as a backdrop for the dramatic scene, otherwise devoid of redundant detail.

Many of the compositional polys and themes that originated in Japan and were adopted in the painting of Polish Modernism, found their way into the graphic arts. Indeed, some of them became so ubiquitous during this period that they may be regarded as its distinctive characteristics. Perhaps the most prominent of such devices is the grille, which served a number of functions. It provides an impression of progression of space adding depth to compositions and as such serves as a perspectival solution. It also divides the pictorial space into separate segments, as well as has the potential of endowing the picture with a decorative element, often amounting to abstruse minute arabesques. This curtain-like device may be observed in graphics by Skoczylas (fig. 1112, 1115), Glasner (fig. 1114), Jastrzębowski (fig. 1121), Józef Czajkowski (fig. 1120), Stanisław Czajkowski (fig. 1128), Jan Wojnarski (fig. 1116, 1119, 1124), Włodzimierz Konieczny (fig. 1118, 1126) Sichulski (fig. 1117), Weiss (fig. 1125), Piotr Krasnodębski (fig. 1127, 1129-1130), Karol Mondral (fig. 1123), Jan Rubczak (fig. 1122), Szczygliński (fig. 1131), and many others. Among these, a few examples may be traced to specific Japanese prototypes, as for example Skoczylas's Dworzyszcze (fig. 1112), which was inspired by Hokusai's Suwa Lake in the Shinshu Province (fig. 1111).

Nature in flux, as an animated component of artistic composition, and in line with the Pantheistic outlook of Japanese art, also features often in the graphic arts of Polish Modernism. Japanese-inspired scenes 'combed' by rain and wind (fig. 11132-1137), stormy seas with the stylised Japanese-derived wave motif (fig. 1138-1139), and the use of central meaningful void were extremely popular.

We have seen that, in keeping with the Japanese precedent, winter landscape gained immense popularity in the painting of Polish Modernism. Readily translatable into the black-and-white idiom, this subject enjoyed an even greater currency in the graphic arts. Notable examples are found in the oeuvres of Wyczółkowski (fig. 1140-1141, 1154-1155), Glasner (fig. 1143, 1149-1151, 1156), Filipkiewicz (fig. 1145, 1147-1148, 1152, 1158), Władysław

Jarocki (fig. 1153, 1159), Zofia Stankiewicz (fig. 1146), and Stanisław Czajkowski (fig. 1157). The black versus white contrast, accompanied by a scale of hues in between, afforded a scope for developing complex decorative schemes, best epitomised by winter scenery, but also by pars pro toto close-ups of the lower register of the forest (fig. 1160-1161). For obvious reasons, graphic Japanese-inspired winter imagery far outnumbered the representation of other seasons. Whereas autumnal equivalents appear to have been conspicuously absent, the summer and spring were occasionally depicted in colour graphics, invariably employing the structural achievements of ukiyo-e (fig. 1162-1165).

An important role in the development of Polish graphic arts, and simultaneously a conduit for the dissemination of Japonisme was the publishing of graphic portfolios. In 1902, Feliks Jasieński founded the Association of Polish Graphic Artists, which from 1903 began editing the serial *Graphic Portfolio*, published by Jasieński. In 1904, at the instigation of Stanisław Rzecki-Szreniawa, a group of artists associated with the Green Balloon created the famous *Teka Melpomeny* (*Melpomene's Portfolio*), which in a series of eleven lithographs represented contemporary actors and actresses in their characteristic roles. Not unlike the Japanese tradition of depicting Edo-period Kabuki actors¹⁰⁹, formed by the Torii, Katsukawa, and Utagawa schools, as well as by the individualised ôkubi-e portraiture of Tôshûsai Sharaku, *Melpomene's Portfolio* satirised current theatre stars. The works included (fig. 1051-1053, 1167-1170), adhered to the usual set of Japanese pictorial principles.

The Poster and Applied Graphic Arts

The relatively propitious economy in Cracow at the turn of the century created a demand for new forms of advertising. These favourable circumstances facilitated the development of the art of the poster and other kinds of commercial graphics, such as advertising for businesses, fairs, balls, spas, shows, and exhibitions. Cracow was the birthplace of this new form of artistic expression and the thriving taste for Japanese art infiltrated it too. Japanese aesthetics naturally suited the poster. The expressive quality of the flat areas of vibrant colours, often juxtaposed in contrasting ensembles, energetic line of the contour, unpredictable vantage points, still unhackneyed motifs appropriated from the iconography of East Asia, all caught the eye of the beholder and the potential client or customer. The precedent for Polish poster art was found not only in Japanese art, but also in

¹⁰⁹ Between a third and a half of all the prints released during the Edo Period were representations of Kabuki actors, including the female role specialists (onnagata).

the earlier achievements of Western European poster, which in itself depended greatly on Japanese models. In 1898, Cracow audiences had the first opportunity to view Western European posters at the International Poster Exhibition at the National Museum in Cracow, organised by Jan Wdowiszewski. Among others, Henri Toulouse-Lautrec, Georges Meunier, Jules Cheret, Eugène Carrière, Alfons Mucha, and Thomas Heine were represented.

What follows is a consideration of selected examples of Polish Modernist applied graphics that bear the mark of Japanese inspirations. A considerable number of pieces incorporate East Asian motifs. Skoczylas in his stylish poster, advertising a fancy-dress ball, used an unmistakably Japanese moonlit landscape with a silhouette of Mt Fuji shifted to the left of the composition, cropped pine branch, and Japanese paper lanterns, all of which is framed by a frieze of mon-stylised motifs from the top, and two strips of rhythmic pattern flanking the view (fig. 1177). A lithograph by an unknown artist printed at the Imperial-Royal Court in Prague and publicising Julius Meinl's imported tea features a kimono-clad 'Japanese' woman and a bold inscription in Polish (fig. 1179). Occasionally, Chinese motifs were also used, as was the case in Frycz's design depicting a Chinese pagoda and repeated image of Chinese dragons (fig. 1181).

More common were stylistic relationships to Japanese art. The planar approach combined with black contours and neutral, often pale background was a combination typical of the Japanese woodblock print that proved highly adaptable for the art of the poster (fig. 1171-1172, 1182-1184). Vertically elongated formats, reminiscent of the hashira-e (pillar print) type, were popular (fig. 1173, 1182-1183), as were cropped and asymmetrical compositions (fig. 1174-1175, 1178). Other allusions to ukiyo-e included the silhouetted human figure (fig. 1176) and Hiroshige-inspired whirlpools (fig. 1180).

Another type of Japanese inspiration for the poster is present in works drawing on East Asian ink painting. Zdzisław Gedliczka's poster *Rembrandt of the Far East* (fig. 1185), designed to advertise Feliks Jasieński's 1913 public talk on Hokusai, effectively simulates the ink technique by means of lithography. The two birds, one in flight and the other atop a bamboo branch, could have been observed by the artist in a number of sources available by 1913 in Cracow. It is also possible that the idea came from one of Hokusai's drawings or paintings similar to a drawing from the British Museum (fig. 1188). The role of the calligraphic text, despite the informative function of the poster, is largely decorative, as it is not instantly legible. Weiss's poster *'Sztuka' – 10th Exhibition* (fig. 1187) also references Japanese ink painting. The much-loved Japanese motif of cranes was well known to Weiss. Renata Weiss compared the poster with a Japanese painting from Jasieński's collection (fig. 1186), but also suggested that the decorative Japanese embroidered fabric from Weiss's own collection (fig. 418) might have served as a source of inspiration for Weiss. It is adorned with

another bird of prey, the hawk, in flight and holding his prey in his claws (2006, 20-21). The same source tells us that preparatory drawings for the poster found in the artist's sketch book include versions where the serpent is replaced by a beast reminiscent of a Chinese dragon. The semantic content of the work is also explained by Renata Weiss in terms of Japanese art. Taking into consideration the purpose of the poster, that is the announcement of the tenth exhibition of the Association of Polish Artists Sztuka in 1905 and the cover for its catalogue, she concludes that Weiss must have been aware of the connotations of longevity and timelessness attached to cranes in Japanese art, to have chosen this motif as a metaphor of art's eternal value (Weiss 2006, 21).

While this may well be true, the possibilities of interpretation are multifarious in this case. If considered separately, the symbolism of these two creatures in Japanese and Chinese lore offers more than one option. The crane is a common signifier of longevity and wisdom, whereas the serpent or snake denotes both positive virtues as well as is often the embodiment of evil. The crane often accompanies Fukurokujû the god of wisdom and longevity and one of the Seven Lucky Gods of Japan. The snake, on the other hand, is an attribute of the only female of the Seven Lucky Gods Benzaiten, the goddess of music and fine arts. In fact, she often assumes the form of a serpent or is shown sitting on it. But in deciphering Weiss's intentions we should also take into the equation the dragon from the preparatory drawings. The image of the reptilian dragon as known today in East Asia had achieved its form by the ninth century and in the ink painting of the Tang period was typically covered with scales and had a long serpentine body. The Chinese dragon has its origin in ancient Indian mythology, where the Nagas (serpent-gods) were the ultimate enemies of the Garudas (bird-gods). These irreconcilable entities were subsequently fused in Tibet. The composite beast, a combination of bird and snake became the Chinese dragon, later adopted by Japanese culture (Mackenzie 1994, 72). Both in China and Japan the dragon became a noble symbol, as the protector of Buddhism and a signifier of imperial power.

It seems unlikely that when designing the poster in question Weiss had in mind an allusion to either the Seven Lucky Gods or the genesis of the dragon myth in Chinese Buddhist lore, because such knowledge was not readily available in Poland at the time. His imagination was most probably nourished by East Asian imagery he encountered either in Western Europe or in Poland. However, although the representations of cranes are ubiquitous in Japanese art, and so are those of snakes, I have found no pictures depicting both simultaneously, as is the case in Weiss's poster. The only such images found are modern depictions associated with the milieu of martial arts and the half-legendary founder of Tai Chi Chang-San-Feng (fig. 1189-1192). The combination of these two creatures in combat is recognisable to the practitioners of Tai Chi, but is most probably a late 19th century

fabrication invented as a part of the Yang family historical legitimisation of their martial art form (Sim & Gaffney 2002).

Chapter IV: Japonisme between the Wars 1919-1940

Historical Context and New Resources for Japonisme

A natural caesura in Polish history, including art history, is the year 1918. The end of World War I marked the beginning of a new era in Polish art, although – as in the case of many other European countries – in many ways this turning point was rather arbitrarily imposed on the framework of artistic continuities (Grabska 1982). With regards to the domain of Japanese inspirations, however, this date is an appropriate dividing point. Firstly, the resurrected independence of the Polish state inaugurated Polish-Japanese diplomatic relations (Pałasz-Rutkowska 2009, 75-234). This, in turn, was accompanied by an increase in factual information on Japan in Poland, and facilitated cultural exchange between these two countries on a larger scale. Travel to Japan became more frequent, also among Polish artists. Secondly, Cracow's role as the spiritual and cultural centre of the Polish nation in the preceding period gradually abated around this time in favour of Warsaw – the official capital of the newly recreated state. Consequently, Warsaw, but also Łódź, Poznań, Lviv, Vilnius, and other cities became centres of Japonisme. The interwar period also saw the first direct encounters between Polish and Japanese artists, mostly in Japan, Paris, New York and Berlin, which generated further examples of Japonisme.

Feliks Jasiński's Collection Becomes National Property

By far the most significant collection of Japanese art in Poland even in the interwar period remained Jasiński's painstakingly assembled ensemble. From the outset, its author intended to offer it to one of Polish national cultural institution. He regarded it as the best cognitive experience not just for the Polish artistic milieu but first and foremost for the nation at large. To Jasiński, the collection presented above all a didactic value. The first attempt to transfer the collection to the nation was made in 1901, when Jasiński chose the Zachęta Society of Fine Arts as its recipient. However, in the wake of the scandal caused by the ill-received exhibition of Japanese art mounted by Jasiński at Zachęta in 1901, and the subsequent move to Cracow, the idea was abandoned. Despite the fact that Jasiński found considerably more understanding for his activities and a genuine interest on the part of Cracow's art and literary circles, the conception of bequeathing his collection to Cracow's City Council also encountered series obstacles. As Stefania Kozakowska put it, the project

caused a quantity of letters, threats, polemics, demands, exchange deals between the donor, the authorities of the town of Cracow and the then Director of the National Museum – Feliks Kopera (1989, 17).

Jasieński's first will from 1903 dictated the conditions under which the bequest to the National Museum in Cracow was to take place:

Sound in my mind and body, I declare that I consider my whole collection and movables to be a property of the community and my wish is to have a separate museum or a section of the National Museum made of them in case I am not able to realise my plans in my lifetime. I stipulate for lifelong use of the whole. The collection cannot be taken away from Cracow. (Kozakowska 1989, 17)

Jasieński had clearly intended to remain the prime curator of the collection until his death, a position which would have allowed him to continue his active involvement in the dissemination of the knowledge of Japanese art. Undoubtedly, both his expertise and passion were unmatched at the time in Poland, and his insistence on retaining the control over the collection did not stem as much from his pride or ego, though these were also a factor, but from a pragmatic concern that otherwise his intention to adequately popularise Japanese art and culture would not be met satisfactorily. This is why in 1906, he wrote to Director Kopera proposing that the branch of the museum would remain in his flat at the corner of The Market Square and St John's Street (Jasieński 1906 c, p. 505). He also suggested the evening hours of opening for the public. The next version of Jasieński's will was drawn in January 1906 and dealt in more detail with bequeathing the collection to the City Council of Cracow and arranging the Jasieński's section of the museum.

In December that year, following a number of letters to the director of the museum, in which Jasieński complained about certain municipal officials undermining the value of his collection, he wrote informed Kopera indignantly:

For the third and last time I have the honour to ask for the immediate return of the donation certificate of my collection to the City Council of Cracow. The town council does not want to come into possession of it and supposes that I – in this way or that – in my life or after my death – want to give it the collection of 'goods' which are worthless and 'harmful for the development of the Polish soul'. (Kozakowska 1989, 17)

The disparaging opinions voiced by city officials with regards to Jasieński's collection, and implicitly concerning especially its East Asian component, of which Japanese art constituted the bulk, stemmed from the ignorance typical of the time. In spite of the fact that the Russo-Japanese war approximated the Polish nation to Japan, and rendered Japan as an ally against Russia, popular attitudes towards Japanese culture did not necessarily change diametrically

overnight. Jasiński must have been exceptionally disheartened by such accusations as 'harmful for the development of the Polish soul'. After all, he was the author of an exactly contrary proposition. According to him, Japan with its art offered a valuable moral, social, political and artistic lesson for the Poles. This somewhat utopian vision was based in equal measure on the romanticised view of exotic ancient Japan, as well as on contemporary progressiveness of Japan as an industrialised modern nation. In 1906, the denigrating remarks on Japanese art by the representatives of the City Council of Cracow were still typical of popular attitudes, but from 1904/1905 one observes a turnabout in them. Ewa Pałasz-Rutkowska described how Japan began to function in Poland as a model for positivistic purposes:

After the Russo-Japanese War Polish writers began to stress the characteristics which, according to these writers, enabled Japan to achieve its victory over Russia: valour and courage, sense of honour, patriotism, spirit of sacrifice, obedience, personal dignity, i.e., all the features which defined "the spirit of the samurai" or "the soul of Japan." It could be added that similar characteristics were stressed in Poland in the interwar period. In the 1920s they served to exhort to work for the good and power of the newly resurrected nation; in the 1930s they helped to prevent loss of the earlier gains and to protect the nation from a tragedy. (2004)

Thus Jasiński's mission to endow the nation with his collection of art was an uphill struggle, but one that eased with time. In 1912, the issue of the donation was raised again, and in 1915 Feliks Kopera appealed to the Mayor of Cracow Juliusz Leo to appoint a curator for Jasiński's collection. Finally, on 11 March 1920, an authenticated act of the donation to the City Council of the capital royal City of Cracow was signed. According to it, all the works of art that heretofore had been in Jasiński's house in St John's Street, were to be transferred to a tenement house, only a block away, offered for this purpose by Włodzimiera and Adam Szolajskis. This new cultural institution was named Jasiński's Section of the National Museum in Cracow, while Jasiński himself retained the role of its custodian until his death. Though the Japanese collection was stored in its entirety there, only parts of it were on display before the war (fig. 1194).

National Museum in Warsaw and its Collections of Japanese Art

An intensified exchange of Polish-Japanese cultural relations, which characterises the interwar period in comparison with the preceding decades, was a natural corollary of the initiation of diplomatic relations between the two states. On 11 November 1918, the

independent Polish state was resurrected and on 6 March 1919 the Japanese government officially recognised the existence of this new European state (fig. 1193) with its government led by the world-renowned pianist, composer, diplomat and politician Ignacy Jan Paderewski (1860-1941) (fig. 1195). It is not without significance for the development of the taste for Japanese art that it was Paderewski who became Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs. For decades preceding his appointment he had an interest in Japanese art and collected it. Although what he amassed in his lifetime was reduced by war time losses, in 1930, in accordance with his will an impressive collection, was donated to the National Museum in Warsaw, but physically did not join its other collections until 1951. The group included considerably more Chinese pieces than Japanese, but the latter represented well Japanese applied arts from the second half of the 19th century. It included ceramics, ivory sculpture, lacquer, enamel and bronze objects (fig. 1196-1200).

Throughout the Middle Ages, Cracow held the status of the capital city of Poland. In 1596, Warsaw took over this role as the capital of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and held it until 1795, when it was annexed by the Kingdom of Prussia during the Third Partition of Poland carried out by Prussia, Russia and Austria. Liberated by Napoleon in 1806, it became the capital of the newly created Duchy of Warsaw, and after the Congress of Vienna in 1815, the capital of Congress Poland, a constitutional monarchy under Russian rule. Although positioned on the outskirts of the Russian Empire, Warsaw flourished throughout the 19th century, but its Polishness was persistently suppressed by Russian authorities. Despite recurrent uprisings a thaw came only with the weakening of Russia after the Russo-Japanese war of 1904, the blows of World War I and the Russian Revolution of 1917. Finally, in 1918 Warsaw was appointed the capital of the newly independent state.

It has been pointed out earlier that Japan almost overnight became an important factor in the Polish national consciousness as an ally against Russia. In spite of its increasingly aggressive foreign policy during the first decades of the 20th century, Japan continued to serve the Poles as a model for national resilience and an unprecedented ability to adapt to changing political, social and cultural circumstances. Even prior to regaining independence, and before Warsaw became Poland's capital again in 1918, the Museum of Fine Arts in Warsaw, founded in 1862, was renamed National Museum in Warsaw in 1916. The capital had the ambition to match other European capitals' national museums and galleries, also with respect to the diversity of their collections. Warsaw had to compete also with Cracow, once Poland's capital, and by now the proud seat of Poland's oldest and largest museum, the custodian of, among others, Jasieński's splendid collection of Japanese, Chinese, and other art. Within a few years, the Varsovian institution began collecting Japanese art and came to be a readily accessible source of Japanese material culture, and consequently a vehicle for Japonisme.

The Varsovian Japanese collection never surpassed its Cracovian counterpart during the interwar years with regards to either its size or quality. Nonetheless, it ranked second in the country and therefore deserves an adequate mention. The majority of Japanese artefacts came from private donations, which varied on a scale from a few items to ensembles of hundreds of pieces, such as that of Ignacy Jan Paderewski. In 1919, the family of Stanisław Glezmer (who in 1908 went to China and Japan and thereafter brought back to Poland a sizeable collection of predominantly objects made of ivory, lacquer, Satsuma pottery and cloisonné enamel) donated almost five hundred pieces to the Varsovian museum (fig. 1201-1209). In 1920, the Zachęta Society of Fine Arts deposited at the National Museum in Warsaw the collection of Japanese artefacts bequeathed to it in 1908 by the merchant, banker and art historian Mathias Bersohn (1823-1908) (fig. 1210-1212, 1215-1217, 1219). During the second half of the 1920s, several smaller donations were given to the museum by Karolina Bereszcakowa in 1925 (fig. 1213-1214), Mieczysław Genjusz in 1926 (fig. 1218), and in 1929 by Leon and Maria Papieski (fig. 1220). The next significant acquisition came as a gift from a Swiss collector with ties with Poland, Jules Henry Block. The 115 handicraft objects bequeathed by him were displayed before the war in the decorative arts section of the museum (fig. 1221-1240, 1242). Little is known about the Japanese collection of the Łódź industrialist Henryk Grohman, who in 1939 bestowed it to the National Museum in Warsaw, and to the Prints Study at the Library of the University of Warsaw. The part of his collection that survived the war intact (fig. 1243-1254) gives only an incomplete picture of its original entirety, but photographs of the collector's house in Łódź allow one to conclude that his bequest to the two institutions included many pieces of the highest order. It should be also noted that the orientalist and member of the Polish diplomatic mission to China and Japan in the 1930s Stanisław Dembiński donated over 800 pieces of East Asian art to the National Museum in Warsaw, however, following a sea route from Tokyo to Gdynia at the Polish coast, the shipment vanished without trace, and was most probably intercepted by the Germans.

The Popularisation of Japanese Art and Culture

The initiation of official diplomatic relations between Japan and Poland in March 1919 triggered an accelerated development of organisations, institutions, initiatives and activities whose purpose was the dissemination of knowledge of Japan and its culture, as well as the promotion of intercultural exchange between the countries. A mere five months after Japan's formal acknowledgement of the newly formed Polish state, the University of Warsaw

introduced courses of Japanese, which from 1922 were held at the Institute of Far Eastern Cultures (Pałasz-Rutkowska 2009, 141). The same year Bogdan Richter created the Institute of the Cultures of the Far East at the Faculty of Philosophy, Warsaw University (Pałasz-Rutkowska 2009, 141).

One of the more publicised events in the early interwar period was the repatriation of the children of Polish political exiles to Siberia and Manchuria. The operation was carried out at the instigation of Anna Bielkiewicz and Józef Jakóbkiewicz, who appealed personally to the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs for assistance in this matter. Between 1919 and 1922, 765 children were transported to Tokyo with the help of Japanese Red Cross, from where they travelled to the USA and England on Japanese ships, and eventually to Gdańsk in Poland (fig. 1255). Although this action had nothing to do with cultural issues, it was well publicised in Poland and consequently caused a wave of gratitude towards the Japanese. The Chief of State Józef Piłsudski addressed a letter of indebtedness to Empress Sadako, who personally met the children in Fukudenkai on 6 April 1921, making unprecedented exception to the prescribed decorum by mingling with the children (Pałasz-Rutkowska 2009, 100).

In 1922, the Polish-Japanese Society was formed in Warsaw with the aim of popularisation of Japan in Poland as its *raison d'être*, and after 1929 it was attached to the Eastern Institute at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (fig. 1256) (Pałasz-Rutkowska 2009, 146). Other such organisations came to life in 1924: The Polish –Japanese Society in Tokyo, in 1924: The Society of Friends of the Far East in Lviv and The Association of Polish Youth from the Far East (fig. 1257), in 1929: The Orientalist Youth Club in Warsaw, which published its magazine *Wschód* (East), in 1931: The School of Eastern Studies at the Eastern Institute in Warsaw, and in 1934: Japanese-Polish Research Society (Nippô Kenkyûkai), which from 1937 was known as Japanese-Polish Cultural League (Nippô Bunka Renmei) (Pałasz-Rutkowska 2009, 146-151).

Among the events promoting Japanese culture in interwar Poland some deserve a mention. In 1923, the pioneer of Japanese modern ballet Ishii Baku (1886-1962) performed in Poland. First in 1927 and then in 1938, the singer Kiwa Teiko (1902-1983) known for her role in Giacomo Puccini's *Madame Butterfly* toured the country (fig. 1258-1261). The first Japanese film to be screened in Poland was *Yakichi-drwal* (1931) directed by Sasaki Tsunejirô. The same year a Kabuki troupe from Tokyo performed in Warsaw, Cracow, Poznań and Łódź. 1931 was also the year the artist Kirigaya Senrin (1876-1932) exhibited at the Zachęta Gallery in Warsaw. In the photographs of the exhibition rooms (fig. 1262-1264) one can discern both painted hanging scrolls and woodblock prints. His oeuvre included depictions of the Great Kantô Earthquake (fig. 1265-1266), as well as traditional Japanese *kakemono* themes (fig. 1267). The artist was painted by Włodzimierz Bartoszewicz (fig.

1268). Exhibitions of Japanese art were also held at the Japanese Embassy in Warsaw (fig. 1269-1270). In 1938 the all-female musical theatre troupe The Takarazuka Revue (Takarazuka Kagekidan) toured Poland (fig. 1271-1278). What also contributed to the Japanese presence were visits of dignitaries and members of the imperial family: Prince Takamatsu Nobuhito (1905-1987), Emperor Hirohito's brother, with his wife Princess Kikuko, who stayed in Warsaw in 1930 (fig. 1279-1280).

As noted by Kossowski, Japanese inspirations in Polish art of the interwar period should be treated as continuations of the Modernist fascination with Japan and its art (1981, 1999, 94). In a climate of aesthetical pluralism and cultural syncretism, the emergence of a myriad of avant-garde art movements and groups in Poland ran parallel with rather constant careers of Modernist artists who perpetuated the aesthetics of Young Poland art, and with them aspects of Japonisme. The best representative of this group was Wyczółkowski. One also observes an emergence of a formidable presence of female artists who often appropriated aspects of Japanese art into their oeuvres. In Chapter II, I emphasised the fact that Polish references to Japanese art were often dependent on Western European counterparts, and as such rarely readily discernible. In the interwar period, they were often even more artistically 'digested' and autonomous. The wide spread of Japanese aesthetics in western art and culture, and their contribution to the development of western modernity resulted in the absorption of the 'oriental mode', or at least certain components of it, into the bloodstream of western art. As a result, to later generations of artists, as it was frequently the case between the wars, elements of Japanese art did not appear foreign any longer, but instead were regarded as inherent characteristics of Polish art. Nonetheless, instances of palpable transpositions of particular types of Japanese art, as well as travesties of specific works of Japanese art were present in this period. Whereas during the Modernist era the majority of Japanese inspirations were found in painting, after 1918 the balance shifted in favour of graphic arts. Although portraits *à la japonaise* still surfaced occasionally, the genres that remained responsive to the example of Japan were predominantly landscape and *kachô-ga*, still lifes and the landscape. During this period the first significant manifestations of Japonisme in theatre and garden design appeared.

Polish Artists in Japan

Kazimierz Zieleniewski

The first Polish artist to have reached Japan was Julian Fałat, who visited it during a round-the-world voyage in 1885. For over three decades no other artist had this opportunity until the early interwar period. Kazimierz Zieleniewski, having studied between 1912 and 1917 at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under such devout Japonistes as Wojciech Weiss and Józef Pankiewicz, arrived in Japan on 14 October 1918 (Hakutei 1919, 84). The itinerary of his stay in Japan was studied by Magdalena Kołodziej, who, referencing Omuka Toshiharu (2002), conjectures that Zieleniewski was encouraged to go to Japan by certain Russian artists (Kołodziej 2009). Given Weiss's and Pankiewicz's versatile and durable interests in all things Japanese, as well as their enthusiasm for sharing it with their students, it is likely that Zieleniewski's decision to travel to Japan was made at his teachers' encouragement.

Together with his wife and two children, Zieleniewski settled in Tokyo, Sakuragi-chô in Ueno. While visiting The Ministry of Education Art Exhibition (Monbushô Bijutsu Tenrankai), he met the painter and critic Arashima Ikuma (1882-1974), who introduced Zieleniewski to Ishii Hakutei, another artist and critic. Most of what we know about Zieleniewski's stay in Japan comes from Hakutei's account (1919). It is from this source that we learn about Zieleniewski's opinions on Japanese art. Within Japanese art, he expressed his preference for traditional Japanese painting to western style, but he found Kuroda Seiki's work exceptional (Ishii 1919, 86). In December 1918, National Art Association (Kokumin Bijutsu Kyôkai), established by Kuroda in 1913, organised a welcome party for the Pole (Bijutsu shinpô 1919, no. 289, 127). Apart from Kuroda, Zieleniewski also met there Okada Saburôsuke (1869-1939), Fujishima Takeji (1867-1943), Sugiura Hisui (1876-1965), and Kobayashi Mango (1870-1947). Thanks to Kokumin Bijutsu Kyôkai, Zieleniewski exhibited 25 of his paintings from Europe and Siberia in a one-man show in Ueno between the 24th and 31st January 1919 (Bijutsu shinpô, no. 290, 151). One of the paintings shown depicted a nude, which caused a scandal followed by police intervention. The police demanded an immediate withdrawal of Standing Nude, but after Zieleniewski's statement that in the event of withdrawing one painting he would be forced to close the entire exhibition, the demand was abandoned and the display continued intact (Ôkuma 2002, 231). Another exhibition of the artist's work, also organised by the Kokumin Bijutsu Kyôkai, this time at Kyoto's Municipal Library took place in March 1919.

Having left Japan some time before May 1919, Zieleniewski moved to Shanghai, where together with Ishii Hakutei he had a joint show at the Palace Hotel (16-18 May). What is significant for the present thesis is that the catalogue for this exhibition is said to include a long list of oil paintings by Zieleniewski that had been created during his stay in Japan. Their titles imply that they were both portraits and scenes of famous Japanese landmarks: Woman with an Umbrella (Tokyo) (fig. 1281), Arashiyama, Kyoto, Cherry Blossoms, Kyoto, Daibutsu, Nara, Japanese Painter Tsuji, An Old Japanese, Nara, My Wife (Tokyo), and others (Kołodziej, 278).¹¹⁰

Zieleniewski's contacts with Japanese artists are attested to by extant visiting cards and correspondence. Among those he knew, besides the above-mentioned, were: T. Fujishima, Shintaro Yamashita, Eisaku Wada, Kamesky Hiraga, Mr Shin Kuroda, and Inosuké Hazama. His contact also included numerous professors of Waseda and Kyoto Universities, a literary critic R. Yana, journalists from Bijutsu-Shimmpô, The Shanghai Nichi Shimbun, and Chûô bijutsu (Kołodziej, 278-279). Many of these contacts, especially with Ishii Hakutei continued after Zieleniewski settled in Paris, where he became associated with École de Paris. Similarly, at the instigation of Hakutei, he continued to exhibit his work in Japan. Starting with the 1919 Exhibition of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts (Teikoku Bijutsuin Tenrankai), he participated yearly from 1920 until 1931 (with the exception of 1921) in the Second Division Exhibition (Nikaten) organised by the Second Division Group (Nikakai).¹¹¹ The 1920 exhibition brought him the Nikakai Prize alongside Koide Narashige (1887-1931). Both artists became then associated members (Kołodziej, 297). Interestingly, Zieleniewski is the only Polish artist mentioned in the first book on the history of modern Japanese painting Records of Three Generations of Japanese Painting (Nihon kaiga sandaishi) by Ishii Hakutei:

Nikaha tokukara kokusaiteki no seishitsu wo obiteita. Rokokukara hôrôshitekita Pôran gaka Zierenieusukî (*Geleniewski*) *nomo dôjôshita* (...) (The Nika group has had since long ago an international character. It also sympathised with the Polish painter Zieleniewski who wondered to Japan from Russia.) (tr. Magdalena Kołodziej).

The most relevant part of Zieleniewski's oeuvre for the present work are his works created during his stay in Japan. This aspect of Polish Japonisme is still to be explored.

¹¹⁰ Unfortunately, these paintings have been lost, which makes it impossible to examine this aspect of Zieleniewski's Japonisme.

¹¹¹ For a full list of Zieleniewski's paintings exhibited at the Nikakai see Kołodziej, 279-280.

Early Japonisme

For many Polish Modernist artists Japan and its art provided a source of artistic inspirations, but many less can be classified as true Japonistes who referenced Japanese art frequently throughout their careers. Once introduced to what the exotic Japan had to offer, these artists would seek exposure to Japanese culture. Their pursuit of Japonisme in Western Europe, Poland and for some even in Japan perpetuated and maintained their fascinations. An ‘epiphany of the spirit of Japan’ followed by a series of evolutionary phases of Japonisme throughout an artist’s career and life is a rare pattern among Polish Modernists, but it is not absent. The most obvious candidates would be Fałat, Wyczółkowski, Boznańska, Pankiewicz, Weiss and Frycz. For them, Japanese art proved much more than a fleeting infatuation confined to a particular period in their careers. These life-long lovers of Japanese art utilised its different achievements at different times, constantly searching for new applicable elements. Such durability and resilience of the taste for Japan is particularly conspicuous in the case of Frycz.

Certain aspects of his creative involvement with Japan have been already addressed in the previous chapter. Prior to discussing Frycz’s sojourn in China and Japan – an experience that brought an important breakthrough in the development of his Japonisme – it is necessary to bring into focus the relevant inspirations and their interpretations in the artist’s work up to 1920. In the second half of the 1890s he travelled often to Paris and Vienna, where he undoubtedly encountered some facets of the contemporary Japanese craze. Between 1898 and 1902, Frycz studied at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Leon Wyczółkowski, and during the academic year 1902/1903 he continued his education in theatre design and decorative art at Kunstgewerbeschule in Vienna in the class of Alfred Roller. As Lidia Kuchtówna has established, there Frycz also benefited from instruction by Koloman Moser and Felicien de Myrbach-Rheinfeld (2004, 48). Both Roller and Moser have been acknowledged as important representatives of Viennese Japonisme. Frycz’s paper cut-outs inspired by katagami and taught by Roller come from that time (fig. 937-938). His interest in representing birds had twofold origin: Roller’s teaching and Japanese art. This preoccupation was present throughout the artist’s career (fig. 1286-1290). In 1904, at the instigation of Roller, Frycz headed for England, where he studied at the Herkomer School in Bushey, but also familiarised himself with the production of the firm Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Company founded by William Morris in 1861.

Having returned to Cracow, he immersed himself in designing posters, invitations, costumes and stage sets for the haunt of Cracow Japonistes Michalik's Den Café. Associated with this venue from 1905 to 1912, Frycz produced numerous works that can be classified as Japonisme. The décor of the main room of the café (fig. 299) was designed by him using oriental accents such as dragons adorning overhead lanterns. His designs for the invitations for soirées at Jama Michalika (fig. 302) often featured direct references to Japan, and the combination of calligraphic text and imagery, as well as the fact that they were printed in limited numbers made them comparable to Japanese surimono. It was also there that he created a series of satirical representations of contemporary actors and actresses (fig. 1052, 1169-1170, 1282-1285) inspired by ukiyo-e imagery of Kabuki actors. His parody of Józef Mehoffer's painting *Europa jubilans* entitled *Much Ado About Nothing: Europa Nonsens* (fig. 486) may be interpreted as a pictorial riposte to Mehoffer's criticism of the contemporary indiscriminate following to the Japanese craze. In his humorous design of *Wawel à la japonaise* according to Feliks Manggha Jasieński (fig. 482) Frycz projected imaginary Japaneseness onto the ultimate symbol of Polishness – the Royal Wawel Hill in Cracow. Just like his poster designs (fig. 1181), this caricature of Wawel is endowed with a range of Japanese motifs, such as pagodas, dragons, Japanese fauna and flora.

This first phase of Frycz's Japonisme depended on foreign stimuli, but also in equal measure on Feliks Jasieński's resources of Japonisme. An anecdote recorded by Lidia Kuchtówna (2004, 80) tells of a fancy dress party in Bochnia near Cracow for which Frycz obtained Japanese warrior's and monk's costumes for himself and others from Jasieński's 'Japanese treasury'. This was done without Jasieński's knowledge, but he did not mind because displaying his collection at large and the popularisation of Japan in Poland was precisely what he desired. We can conclude that it was Jasieński who passed 'the bug of Japonisme' to Frycz. But Frycz's experience of Japan in one respect was richer than Jasieński's. Whereas the latter never had the opportunity to visit the land of his passion, Frycz not only travelled to Japan but held there a diplomatic post, which allowed him less limited access than that of an average traveller.

In the second half of September 1919, The Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs appointed nominations for the first diplomatic mission to 'the Far East'. The mission was headed by Józef Targowski, Frycz's first cousin, who recommended the artist as its press attaché. In December, the party left the Marseille port aboard a French ship *Amazone* of Messageries Maritimes. Towards the end of January 1920, the ship reached Shanghai, where Frycz for the first time experienced Chinese theatre. The eight-hour performance charmed him with its play of light shed by paper lanterns and the resulting long shadows, but after the play he went backstage, where he inspected costumes, make-up and other aspects of backstage reality. On 27 January, their ship entered Saigon, where the mission spent three days, visiting the Chinatown in Cholon with its splendid pagodas. There too, Frycz managed to see a theatre performance, after which he mingled with the actors and the crew, who explained the workings of the stage dragons.¹¹³ Around 31 January, the mission reached Hong Kong. Although the city was an English colony, Frycz was impressed by the decorative charm of the Chinese heritage (Kuchtówna 2004, 183; Frycz 1921). Through Shanghai and Harbin, they arrived at Mukden, where they visited the imperial palace and the tombs of the last Manchurian dynasty.

The next week passed by in Peking, where Frycz's attention was captured by its picturesque architecture of the Forbidden City, imperial tombs, and the imperial observatory. There he observed a service at a Buddhist monastery in a temple whose interior he painted (fig. 1291-1293). On 17 May, the mission reached Shanghai, where Frycz again occupied himself with painting and drawing a series of pictures that clearly emphasise his ethnographical interest in all aspects of life: customs, art, costumes, folklore, landscape, and architecture (fig. 1294-1296, 1298-1300). His desire for a deeper understanding of Chinese reality was satisfied through studying the history of the nation and the country at the imperial library, via numerous friendships and acquaintances he made with people of all walks of life, including the Malaysian Chinese man of letters and philosopher Ku Hung-ming (1857-1928), a ministerial secretary, Song-loo, a learned man and a curator at the public library into which the imperial collection of books had been incorporated (Kuchtówna 2004, 187). The latter enabled Frycz to see rare and precious volumes from this famous collection. He also enjoyed mingling with the rank and file of the neighbourhood he stayed in, and depicted them in

¹¹² The itinerary of Frycz's voyage to East Asia was studied by Kuchtówna (2004, 181-204), and the following account depends entirely on this source.

¹¹³ Upon return to Poland, Frycz would write an essay devoted to the Chinese dragon.

sundry techniques, but unfortunately few of these images have survived. In China, Frycz also reached the town of Hankeku near the Chinese-Mongolian border and the Great Wall of China. Towards the end of his life, when making a final balance of experiences, he would count this symbol of infinity as one of the most outstanding encounters, but the most consequential Chinese experiences for his future creativity proved to be the opportunity to familiarise himself with Chinese architecture and theatre (Kuchtówna 2004, 187).

In August 1920, Frycz finally reached Japan. His first direct impressions of the realm that had so far played such an important role in his artistic life oscillated between ecstatic admiration for the old traditional Japan and a slight disappointment with aspects of westernised Japan, which he viewed as a form of contamination of an ideal he had longed to experience. From the very start he immersed himself in Japanese life, setting out to gain as much knowledge of it as possible. He studied carefully Japanese traditional attire and local garden culture. He expressed his disdain for the general snobistic indifference in this respect on the part of the members of the diplomatic circles of the neighbouring embassies of Chile, Switzerland and Finland (Kuchtówna 2004, 194).

In October at the University of Kyoto, Frycz delivered in English a series of slide-illustrated lectures on Poland, focusing, among others, on the figures of Józef Piłsudski, Tadeusz Kościuszko, Fryderyk Chopin, Henryk Sienkiewicz and Maria Curie-Skłodowska. His talks did not omit aspects of Polish art history. These lectures, which would be repeated in Tokyo University, were the first talks given by a Pole at Japanese universities ever, and were published in both English and Japanese in a brochure *The Past and Future of Poland*. Thanks to these appearances Frycz made acquaintances with the Japanese translators of Polish literature, as well as many other prominent figures from Japanese academic circles, among which were Marquis Okuma Shigenobu and the President of Waseda University Dr Masasada Shiozawa (fig. 1303).

Just like in China, the local theatre absorbed much of his time. Frycz attended spring and autumn performances in Kyoto, Osaka and Tokyo, and broadened his knowledge on the ceremonial Nô theatre. Seeing the famous play *Terakoya* by Izumo Takeda numerous times in Kyoto, Osaka and Tokyo with accomplished Japanese actors allowed him to compare it with the Cracow production of it in 1906 with Ludwik Solski (fig. 510), an adaptation for which Frycz himself had designed both the sets and costumes. In Japan, Frycz painted interior scenes with Japanese women, a theme he would return to even after 1945 (fig. 1297, 1301-1302).

Frycz did everything to satiate his hunger for knowledge of Japanese art and its history. In Tokyo, he visited many museums, including The Tokyo Imperial Household Museum (later renamed Tokyo National Museum), other museums in Ueno, the collections of

Baron Okuma Shigenobu, the Shôsôin treasury in Nara accessible to the public only once a year, Kyoto museums, as well as the museums of Nikkô. Many of his immediate observations and impressions were recorded instantaneously and appeared later in his writings published in Poland in the years to come. Aware of the importance the Japanese accord to nature, he travelled to such landmarks as Mt Fuji, the Hakone Lake District, and made numerous visits to the Enoshima Island.

What he saw Frycz recorded both in words and images. Although his visual records of Japan may not boast the highest artistic quality, and are often dismissed by art historians as of ethnographical rather than artistic value¹¹⁴, they proved invaluable for his subsequent theatre stage designs in the theatres and operas of Poland. Above all, the paintings and drawings from his stay in Japan and China attest to a particular interest in the domains that are relevant to the profession of a stage designer: architecture – both interior and exterior, and East Asian garments.

Frycz's Publications on East Asia

At the beginning of 1921, Frycz left Japan and soon after his return to Poland the first sketches on Japan entitled *Dwa światy* (Two worlds) appeared in *Rzeczpospolita* (Frycz 1921a). These articles kindled another wave of Polish interest in Japan and China, bringing in their wake a series of talks and radio interviews with the author. Needless to say, Frycz had become an authority on East Asian culture. By the end of July 1921, the Polish readership had been presented with five essays on Japan and thirty-three on China. Another three articles on China appeared in December the same year. Thus, in 1921, Frycz published the following essays on the subject of Japan: *Nowa Japonia* (New Japan) published in *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* (Illustrated Weekly) (Frycz 1921b) and *Echo Dalekiego Wschodu – pismo polskie w Japonii* (An Echo of the Far East – Polish newspaper in Japan) published in *Świat* (The World) (Frycz 1921c). Significantly more essays by Frycz on China, its culture and theatre came out in 1921: *W Państwie Niebieskim* (In the Blue State), serialised in *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* (Frycz 1921d), *Ze środka świata* (From the Centre of the World), serialised in

¹¹⁴ Although no written critical evaluation of Frycz's drawings and paintings from China and Japan is known, there seems to be a tacit conviction among Polish art historians that the artist's forte was stage design more than fine art. Such a judgement was expressed to the present author on a number of occasions by art historians and curators when conducting research for this thesis. Particularly strong was the dismissal expressed by the curators at manggha Museum of Japanese Art and Technology in Cracow when they were confronted with inquiries about a potential future exhibition of Japanese inspirations in Frycz's oeuvre (personal communication).

over thirty issues of *Rzeczpospolita* (Frycz 1921e). Following the 1923 earthquake in Tokyo, Frycz returned to the subject of Japan, publishing writings on its geology, the activities of Japanese volcanos and offering delightful descriptions of Enoshima and the town of Gotemba, both of which had been erased by the cataclysm.¹¹⁵ Further articles on China appeared in 1923 in *Pani*¹¹⁶, *Rzeczpospolita*¹¹⁷. In 1924, Frycz published numerous articles in on various aspects of China in *Rzeczpospolita*¹¹⁸. After 1924, he did not publish any texts on East Asia, apart from “*Maitre d’hotel*” z *Szanghaju* (“Maitre d’hotel” from Shanghai) (Frycz 1932) and a chapter entitled ‘Teatr chiński’ (Chinese theatre) in *O teatrze i sztuce* (On theatre and art) (Frycz 1967).

The content of Frycz’s essays reveals his extensive and detailed knowledge of Japan and China, especially in the fields of history, politics, social systems, national and regional customs, folklore, tradition, fashion and attire, diplomatic etiquette, cuisine, food produce, cultural life, painting, poetry, architecture, garden design, national cultural landmarks, religion, philosophy, the activities of Christian missionaries, literature and its western translations, landscape and nature. Another important facet of his writings traced and charted previous Polish presence in Japan. Finally, one finds numerous direct comparisons between East Asia and the West. Considering his overwhelming passion for the theatre and the amount of time he devoted to exploring it in China and Japan, it is surprising that the subject is conspicuously absent from the body of writing. According to his biographer Lidia Kuchtówna, this omission was not accidental as Frycz had the intention of producing a major work devoted to it (2004, 203). Unfortunately, this idea never materialised, though he did not take his expertise of East Asian theatre to his grave. It was passed to posterity via many of his students of stage design at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts.

¹¹⁵ All 1923 essays on Japan appeared in *Rzeczpospolita*: *Uśmiech Nipponu* (Nippon’s smile) (Frycz 1923a), *Niesforna ryba* (Awkward fish) (Frycz 1923b), *Enoshima – Wyspa Zielona* (Enoshima – the Green Island) (Frycz 1923c), *Fudzi-san* (Mt Fuji) (Frycz 1923d), and *Il Vese – Fudzi* (Il Vese – Mt Fuji) (Frycz 1923e).

¹¹⁶ *Zorza Chin* (The Aurora of China) (Frycz 1923f).

¹¹⁷ *O Ku Hung-Mingu, autorze* (On Ku-ming, the author) (Frycz 1923g), *Amor w klatce chińskiej* (Amor in a Chinese Cage) (Frycz 1923h), and *Chiński Mur* (The Great Wall of China) (Frycz 1923i).

¹¹⁸ *Miriad mil Muru* (A myriad miles of the Great Wall) (Frycz 1924a), *Pan Prezydent Hsu* (Mr President Hsu) (Frycz 1924b), *Allez-vous en...* (Go away to...) (Frycz 1924c), *Gród wiecznie szczęśliwy* (Eternally Happy City) (Frycz 1924d), *Bardzo żywy trup* (A corpse very much alive) (Frycz 1924e), *Zakazane Miasto* (The Forbidden City) (Frycz 1924f), *Chiński smok* (Chinese dragon) (Frycz 1924g), *Jaki dach, taki dom* (A house for a roof) (Frycz 1924h), *Jerychońskie trąby* (Jericho trumpets) (Frycz 1924i), *Traditore – traduttore* (Frycz 1924j), *Las myśli* (A forest of thoughts) (Frycz 1924k), *Chińskie bogi* (Chinese gods) (Frycz 1924l), and *Ani zimny, ani gorący* (Neither cold, nor hot) (Frycz 1924m).

Although officially Frycz's sojourn in East Asia was part of a diplomatic mission, there is no doubt that he himself treated it as an extended study trip. Almost immediately after his return to Poland in 1921 the fruit of his East Asian research surfaced conspicuously in his work as a stage and costume designer as well as an educator of these professions. The ways in which he channelled Japan and China into Polish theatre design were manifold, but contemporaneous and present critics are unanimous in saying that, judging by his work, the most profound East Asian lesson for Frycz was directing attention to the intrinsic values of a given play, in other words, an emphasis on the quintessential mystery of the drama.

One of the first tangible changes informed by his Asian experience was the introduction of a new and more restrained palette of colours, one that aimed to convey the different 'states of the soul', as opposed to the much wider array of hues used before his trip to Asia with a view to achieving an aesthetically pleasing effect (Schiller 1978, 421-422). This observation was made first on the occasion of the 1922 Hamlet premiere at the Polski Theatre in Warsaw by the Polish theatre and film director, critic and theoretician Leon Schiller de Scildenfeld (1887-1954), who was a colleague of the English modernist theatre practitioner and a devout Japanophile Gordon Craig (1872-1966) (Craig, 1976, 229). Franciszek Siedlecki, also conversant with the Japanese theatre, noted that Frycz achieved the toned down effect by dispersing stage lighting using a whole range of smaller, colouristically varied, sources of light, which, although often intense and starkly contrasting, elicited a sense of subdued serenity within the entirety of the design (1991, 186).

Another Japanese-inspired innovation introduced by Frycz to Polish stage design was the treatment of ghosts and apparitions. To convey visually their immaterial nature, he dressed them in white, placed against black backgrounds on small inconspicuous podiums of different heights, and lit them intermittently with reflector lights. This approach was first suggested by Frycz to Schiller, who adopted it for his 1929 adaptation of Samuel Zborowski in the Polski Theatre in Warsaw. Zbigniew Raszewski recorded Schiller's remark that Frycz's suggestion was based specifically on Japanese prototypes (1997, 30). It was not until 1959, however, that Frycz himself had the opportunity to apply this technique of staging spectres. In a production of *Wedding* by Wyspiański at the Pomerania Theatre in Bydgoszcz, directed by Adam Grzymała Siedlecki, Frycz ushered the ghosts through the backdrop amidst a mist simulated by dimmed lighting.

A form of synthesis of the overall design – an approach Frycz borrowed from Japanese theatre – became increasingly frequently applied to his projects. In a nutshell, this method consisted in eliminating redundant elements of design including props. Many of the

props Frycz did use were in fact 'direct quotations' of Japan or China: vases and other ceramic vessels (sometimes simulated by papier mâché), lanterns, oriental figurines, fabrics, and many other objects. For example, in *The Woman Who Committed a Murder* (1921) at the Polski Theatre in Warsaw, the salon's interior had all the above, but whereas the interior displayed an overall Chinese style, the view through the round window (a common feature in both Chinese and Japanese architecture) was unmistakably Japanese: Mt Fuji-like peak in the distance flanked by Japanese pine trees (fig. 1308). The sets for *The Ideal Husband* by Oscar Wilde staged at the Polski Theatre in Warsaw in 1922 featured conspicuous curtains with oriental designs as well as Japanese-stylised branches of blooming trees. The motif of the pale silhouette of a mountain peak, reminiscent of the Japanese Mt Fuji, was often used by Frycz in his theatre stage designs. In some cases, as for example in *Superstition* or *The Cracovians* and *The Gorals*, staged at The Polski Theatre in 1913 the peak was typically positioned off-centre at the backdrop, and in order to reinforce the Japanese reference, both the sky and the body of water present in the landscape were rendered in a manner strongly resembling the Japanese technique of bokashi shading ubiquitous in ukiyo-e (fig. 1306-1307). In the case of Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* staged at The Polski Theatre in 1923, Frycz restrained himself from obvious references to East Asia, but instead opted for a colour scheme that was unanimously interpreted by critics and others as oriental. Kuchtówna concluded that Frycz's Greek antiquity was depicted in the colours of the East (2004, 219).

The above-mentioned productions were all set outside of East Asia, and therefore their Japanese and Chinese ingredients had little or no rationale behind them. It was their exoticism and aesthetically pleasing value rather than their geographical authenticity that enabled their inclusion into the otherwise western locales. With regards to historical correctness, Frycz's designs for *Adrian Lecouvreur* by Eugène Scribe and Ernest Legouve staged at the Polski Theatre in 1927 were more accurate. The opera is set in early 18th century Paris, where a fashion for chinoiserie had reached its zenith. For this reason, the production offered an unlimited scope for Frycz to show off his knowledge of Chinese material culture.

There were of course also productions whose plots actually took place either in Japan or in China. As early as 1906, that is long before his trip to Japan, Frycz designed the sets and costumes for *Terakoya* by Takeda Izumo at The Warsaw Philharmonic. But having conducted his research in Japan in China, and having published his essays based on these experiences, he established himself as the authority on the subject in Poland. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that from then on he was considered the first choice for designing sets and costumes for plays and other productions set in East Asia. The premiere of *Mandaryn Wu* (1927) at The Polski Theatre in Warsaw (an adaptation of Harold Owen's and Harry Vernon's play *Mr. Wu* (1913) set in China) was preceded by press articles guaranteeing ethnographical

faithfulness due to Frycz's contribution. Indeed, the premiere, as well as numerous consecutive performances proved a phenomenal success; above all else, owing to the sophisticated and well-informed designs (fig. 1310, 1314-1317). The Polish stage would rely on his expertise of China and Japan well into the 1950s. Among such production sets designed by Frycz after the war were *Red Poppy* by Glier staged at the Wrocław Opera House in 1952 (fig. 1309, 1311), and *South of the 38th Parallel* by Thai Dian Chun shown at The Contemporary Theatre in Szczecin in 1954.

Frycz's Japonisme was not limited to the arts and the theatre. His pedagogical activity at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts from 1924 to 1961 should be regarded as Japonisme in art education. While still working for The Polski Theatre in Warsaw, he commuted to Poland's first university department of 'decorative painting for the theatre' in Cracow. In his lectures, he devoted considerable space to East Asian theatre. In 1930, he moved to Cracow, where accepted permanent post at the Academy as well as a stage designer at The Słowacki Theatre. That year he also became the first in Poland ever professor of 'decorative and theatrical painting'. His courses became so popular that in 1932 the number of students had to be reduced (Kuchtówna, 2004, 280). Considering that Frycz's courses were the only place to study stage design at an academic level, and taking into consideration the fact that much of his didactic work included Japanese and Chinese theatre, it is not an exaggeration to say that the first professionally trained generation of Polish stage designers were exposed to East Asian theatre tradition. It should also be mentioned that besides the Academy itself, at Frycz's instigation, Cracow gained three didactic studios for stage designers and other professionals assisting the stage. The first such studio, organised for the demands of The Słowacki Theatre was located in Frycz's apartment at Holy Ghost's Square, while the other two were attached to The Old Theatre and Iwo Gall's Dramatic Stage. Judging by extant documentation, East Asian theatre occupied a secure position within Frycz's curriculum, but as numerous memoirs of his students indicate, the taste for Japan and China permeated also unrelated subjects. Apart from theoretical classes richly illustrated by visual material, Frycz organised Sunday educational excursions to various Cracow venues, often concentrating on Japanese-related landmarks.

Reading the diaries and accounts by Frycz's students, what strikes is that the lectures and talks on Japan and Japanese art are not merely mentioned or described, they are remembered in superlatives by many. Andrzej Wajda considered Frycz's enthusiasm for the East as one of the main reasons for his own interest, which during the 1990s materialised into building the manggha Centre of Japanese Art & Technology in Cracow (Wajda 1974; personal communication with Andrzej Wajda's wife Krystyna Zachwatowicz, October 2010). Kazimierz Wiśniak remembered extremely vivid and gripping descriptions of Japanese

fashions: kimonos, fans, flowers, tea houses, lanterns (2002). Władysław Jarocki, in turn, recorded the weekly evenings at The Grand Hotel in Cracow organised by Frycz after the war for members of the art and theatre world, occasions invariably marked by East Asian taste (1960-1965). It was not only his students to whom Frycz imparted his knowledge and experiences of East Asia and its theatre, but also everybody else who showed interest. A remark noted by Władysław Natanson in an article on Frycz's art conveys his enthusiasm for disseminating and popularising this knowledge in Poland:

One evening in 1938, Frycz met with Stefan Jaracz, and Ludwik Puszet in one of Cracow's restaurants. Frycz spoke about the Far East and Japan so eloquently and for such a long time that his listeners missed the moment of dawn and realised to their dismay that the sun was already shining. (1963)

Although Frycz did not leave behind him an ideologically uniform school of followers in the field of stage design, the multitude of students he taught, and who then went on to assume top positions across the country and abroad, are referred to as 'the Cracow school of stage design'. To the more prominent individuals within it belong Andrzej Stopka, Tadeusz Kantor, Andrzej Kreutz-Majewski, Krystyna Zachwatowicz, Urszula Gogulska-Zwalińska, Andrzej Cybulski, Wojciech Krakowski, Józef Szajna, Liliana Jankowska, Antoni Tósta, Jerzy Jeleński, Janusz Warpechowski, Marian Szulc, Krzysztof Pankiewicz, Marian Garlicki, and others.¹¹⁹

Ze'ev Wilhelm Aleksandrowicz

Art photography came to the fore in Poland in the interwar period, but until the 1930s it had not managed to emancipate itself from its close relationship to painting (Płażewski 1982, 249). Its idealistic approach to reality was characteristic of the academic conception of pictorial arts so rooted in the pre-modernist tradition. The recently rediscovered negatives taken by Ze'ev Aleksandrowicz during his trip to Japan have been identified as symptomatic of a new era in Polish photography, one that began in the early 1930s (Motyka 2008, 45). It should be noted that Aleksandrowicz was not a professional photographer, though his pictures go beyond contemporary amateurship both in terms of their artistic value and their

¹¹⁹ The oeuvres of the representatives of this informal school of theatre stage design are outside the scope of the present work, but they present a potentially intriguing aspect of Polish post-war Japonisme and are still to be explored from this point of view.

methodological acumen.¹²⁰ Even against the bulk of the 1930s Polish photography, his oeuvre, still largely unknown, appears to have broken out of the prevalent contemporary sentimentalism of photographic vision.

The photographs shown in an exhibition at the manggha Museum of Japanese art and Technology in Cracow (Dzechciaruch-Maj 2008), chosen from a much larger group of those taken in Japan, document Yokohama, Tokyo and Nara, but first and foremost they focus on various aspects of contemporary Kyoto. Indeed, they should be regarded collectively as an ethnographical visual documentary, but one that retains a degree of involvement with its subjects. Among the published prints (fig. 1318-1343), the majority are portraits of the Japanese people. The group also includes genre scenes, urban landscapes, shots of animals and even certain iconic landmarks such as for example the Kiyomizu-dera in Kyoto.

Having grown up in Cracow, which by the time of the artist's journey to Japan in 1934 had witnessed a wide range of manifestations of Japonisme, Aleksandrowicz was by all means familiar with the artistic ethos of Japan, or at least with its western and Polish translations. A familiarity with iconic Japanese imagery is evident in his photographs. It is not only 'what' but also 'how' he photographed that was inspired by precedents of Polish Japonisme. For example, he often captured the figures of the Japanese from the back, either eliciting their silhouettes or concentrating on female hair-dos. The latter approach could have been seen by the artist in the paintings by Pankiewicz. Other artistic devices adopted by him from earlier examples of Japonisme art were fortuitous vantage points applied mostly to urban landscapes, asymmetry, cropped objects at the bottom of the frame and many others. There are also photographs in which he sought to explore less common in Poland facets of Japan: a variety of more or less obscure headwear, domestic and filial scenes, children, and snapshots of various professionals at work: a fabric dyer, scientist, pharmacist, and others.

Polish Japonisme within École de Paris

The term 'École de Paris' does not refer to a formal association of artists nor does it denote an art movement sensu stricto. Instead it has been used to define a community of non-

¹²⁰ As Jan Motyka observed, Aleksandrowicz's photographs from Japan 'feature some situational caution' natural in a traveller in a foreign country. Motyka also suggests that Aleksandrowicz's amateurship is in fact his advantage as it allows him to look through the lens in a manner void of aesthetisation and sentimentalism. Sentimentalism, exposure of ethnographic elements and evident indifference to the model are often found in the mainstream of Polish photography at the time, they all however, are absent from Aleksandrowicz's photographs taken in Japan (Motyka 2008, 47-48).

French artists who from around 1905 started settling in the area of Montparnasse in Paris. As a cheaper alternative to the Montmartre artistic district, Montparnasse attracted emigrant artists who eventually came to function collectively as a giant social circle.¹²¹ This neighborhood was where these artists lived, created, studied, exhibited and socialized. Determined by a socioeconomic factor, the community would perpetuate itself throughout the interwar period. This informal artistic enclave of Paris attracted artists from all over the world, soon becoming a global microcosm often compared to the Tower of Babel. Naturally, each expatriate artist brought along his or her native cultural baggage, and whether intended or not, this baggage was invariably shared with the rest of the community.

The large majority of École de Paris artists came from Eastern Europe and in particular from Poland proper, as well as from the so-called Kresy (Borderlands) of Poland, that is its eastern provinces, which today coincide with Lithuania, Belarus and the Ukraine. Although predominantly of Jewish origin, these artists considered themselves Poles as attested to, among other facts, by their identification with Polish artistic and social associations both in Paris and in Poland, their language, education and so on. There were also many non-Jewish Polish artists within the group. Apart from arrivals from all corners of Europe, such as Picasso (Spain), Modigliani (Italy), Mondrian (Holland), Chagall (Russia), there were also artists from South Africa (Stern Irma), America (Alexander Altenburg) and Mexico (Diego Rivera). A comparatively numerous contribution to the mix constituted Japanese artists. Estimates of their number vary, but it has been established that during the interbellum around one hundred Japanese artists came to stay in Paris (Wierzbicka 2004, 47).¹²² There had been many more before 1914, but most left after the outbreak of the war. Twenty Japanese artists exhibited in the 1923 Salon d'Automne (Wierzbicka 2004, 47).

Considering the prolonged exposure of Polish artists to the Japanese presence in Montparnasse, it would appear a forgone conclusion that certain aspects of Japanese art were appropriated by the Poles into their works. If so, the fruit of these borrowings should be regarded as Japonisme. Before turning to the discussion of these strands of Japanese inspiration, it is important to emphasise two points. Firstly, against reasonable expectations, only a handful of Japanese artists served as catalysts for Polish Japonisme within École de

¹²¹ A more appropriate denomination for the phenomenon was suggested by Jean Cassou (Cassou 1969, 10) and Edward Roditi (Roditi 1973, 66), who leaned towards 'École de Montparnasse' rather than 'École de Paris'. Both based their preference on the fact that it was Montparnasse and not Paris in general where the 'school' developed. Furthermore, 'École de Montparnasse' reflects more accurately its composition, excluding the rest of Paris inhabited by French artists.

¹²² For more on Japanese artists in Paris see: *Modern Japanese Art in Paris, 1920's-1930's* (1973) Museum of Modern Art in Tokyo; *Rhapsody in Paris. Painter Yasushi Tanaka and his Contemporaries* (1988) Museum of Modern Art, Saitama.

Paris. Despite the fact that they came to Paris to study western oil painting, their community led a rather hermetic and insular existence away from the international hub. But of course there were notable exceptions and it is these individuals that the following arguments depend upon. By far the most conspicuous representative of the Japan in the interwar Paris was Foujita Tsuguharu. Although in the following pages I will indicate several other potential lines of inspiration drawn from other Japanese artist, notably Mitsutani Kunishiro, it is not an exaggeration to say that it was Foujita who was almost singlehandedly responsible, and consciously so, for the Japonisme in the work of Polish École de Paris artist.

The other point to consider is the question of the degree of Japaneseness in the oeuvres of Japanese artists resident in Paris at the time. After all, the overwhelming majority of them came to Paris to pursue a career in *Yōga* (洋画) or literally ‘western-style paintings’ formed in accordance with western traditional conventions, techniques and materials, as opposed to *Nihonga* (日本画), which drew on traditional Japanese art. Japaneseness being a prerequisite for Japonisme, it is pertinent to address the question of if and to what extent Japanese artists in Paris sought recourse to their native cultural heritage. In general, rarely did elements of Japanese art permeate into their art, because they were preoccupied with its antithesis – *Yōga*. There were however some noteworthy ambassadors of Japanese art and culture.

One such figure was Toda Kaiteki, who arrived in Paris in 1923 and chose to present himself as a specimen of Japaneseness, not only through his art but also in his personal conduct and appearance. Phyllis Birnbaum interprets Toda’s often provocative behaviour as ‘an astute marketing strategy’ (2006, 74). Reluctant to learn French, always attired in traditional Japanese garb, sporting a Japanese coiffure and equipped with a Japanese sword, Toda made a heavy emphasis on his connection to Japan. It was only in Paris that Toda set out to specialise in Japanese paintings on silk, his forte soon becoming the representation of fish, and in particular the carp. His other favoured themes included squirrels, cats, birds and tigers. We shall see below that Foujita adopted a similar attitude of recourse to Japan in his painting, and to a lesser extent in his comportment.

At the risk of simplification, the Japanese craze in France abated after the demise of the Nabis around the second decade of the twentieth century, but the spirit of Japonisme continued to linger. Decades of diverse facets of French Japonisme had conditioned an expectation from the French public and critics that demanded of the Japanese artists to evoke their native art. Japanese artists in the Paris of the interbellum had to contend with this demand which inhibited their resolve to master *Yōga*. Not forgetting artistic resources of Japan even if applied to painting Parisian landscapes was praised by French critics, while indiscriminate reliance on western models was criticised:

There are other (Japanese) artists, whom we will not name, who have submitted to indisputable European influences, but let them beware. An artist never wins by trading away his originality, if he has one, for someone else's. Very fortunately, most Japanese artists understand that by walking upon the path of their Japanese ancestors, while at the same time adapting to their own epoch but remaining faithful to the spirit and the sensibility of their race, they will develop their personalities more surely than by making themselves into servile imitators of celebrities in modern cosmopolitan painting who have often themselves achieved nothing but dubious glories. ('L'exposition Foujita chez Bernheim Jeune', Bulletin de la Société franco-japonaise de Paris, no. 70, 1929, 52, tr. by Phyllis Birnbaum)

This predicament of the Japanese western-style painters was best reflected in the words of Hakutei Ishii, himself a *Yōga* artist:

In Japan there is no longer a single artist who blindly continues to practice his art according to the principles of the Tosa, Kanō, Nanga, Shijō schools or the ukiyo-e print... Since we (Japanese artists) all receive a mostly European education and because we take European works as our models, we would be going against the nature of things if we did not conform to that influence... Certain Europeans believe that imitation is the driving force among us Japanese artists who paint in oils... I must say that this is an erroneous opinion. Contemporary Japanese artists receive their impressions of nature almost like Europeans. And like Europeans, they find a way to express themselves directly through oil painting. Of course (the Japanese) lack experience in that tradition of European art, which inevitably leads to defects in drawing, in the coloring, and even in the material practice of their art. I cannot deny this. (Ishii 1923 a, 722-25, tr. by Phyllis Birnbaum)

During his stay in Paris (1911-1912), Ishii visited the studio of the Polish artist Tadeusz Makowski, for whom another Polish painter Marcin Samlicki was posing for a portrait at the time.¹²³ Referring to one of Foujita's white-milk paintings, Samlicki made the following remark:

This is not an oil painting. It is a drawing that has been coloured. Part of it is depicted in detail, but the overall balance is not good. (Hakutei 1923 b, 106, tr. by Ogawa Kikuko)

Ishii expressed his surprise at the fact that there were artists who opposed Foujita even in Paris, but, as we shall see, Foujita's art commanded a considerable following among Polish artists in Paris.

¹²³ Judging by a caricature of Olga Boznańska drawn in pencil on Hakutei Ishii's business card held at the Historical-Literary Association at the Polish Library in Paris, we may infer that Hakutei also met Boznańska (Bobrowska-Jakubowska, 2004, p. 224). Hakutei was also one of Kazimierz Zieleniewski's acquaintances in Tokyo in 1919.

San-sui, Yamato-e, Rimpa and Eugeniusz Zak's Landscape

The history of École de Paris straddles the First World War, an event which divided the phenomenon into the pre-war phase and its interwar years. In this early period of École de Paris, Polish Japonisme manifested itself predominantly in two categories: the landscape and the use of the ichimatsu-ningyô motif.

The landscapes of Eugeniusz Zak (fig. 1345-1361, 1368), who came to Paris in 1901 at the age of sixteen, depict a world of outlandish, fantastical fables and dreams, pre-romantic idylls set against stylised nature. They feature jagged rocks at the edge of water, cubist architecture invariably situated in the foreground, as well as canopy-like gnarled trees with exotic boughs and delicate outlines of distant mountains on the horizon. Before 1920, these compositions depicted somewhat delicate, almost anaemic human figures: anonymous lovers, mythological shepherds and nymphs, and thereafter these groups of small figures are replaced by bigger singular ones. With regards to their prototypes, these works have been interpreted in a number of disparate ways. They have been traced to the example of Persian miniature painting (Wallis 1926, 2; Brus-Malinowska 2004, 57-58), Wacław Husarski indicated their parallels with Chinese painting (1926, 87), whereas Jan Kleczyński discerned 'quasi Japanese-Chinese visions' in them (1926, 16). Mieczysław Tretter, in turn, embraced all the above directions of inspiration and concluded that 'they are highly decorative landscapes, which bear features of old Persian miniatures, Chinese painting, and the Japanese colour woodblock' (1926, 4). In the catalogue for a monographic exhibition of the artist's oeuvre, Barbara Brus-Malinowska, while pointing out isolated examples of Japanese inspirations in Zak's early portraiture (fig. 1344), closely adheres to Husarski's interpretation of his landscapes as based predominantly on Chinese models. More precisely, she traces them to Zak's alleged interest in the art of the Chinese Sung dynasty (2004, 58-61).

Little is known of Zak's pursuit of Chinese painting, but the fact that he frequently visited Parisian museums and other collections of Asian art may well speak in favour of either Japanese or Chinese genesis for his paintings. Without pertinent documentary evidence it is difficult to establish his sources, but stylistic analysis of the group in question provides a plausible theory. Their compositional paradigm is analogous with the Chinese painting convention of shan-shui (山水 Chinese: lit. mountain-water, san-sui 山水 Japanese), involving the scenery of natural landscapes with mountains, rivers, lakes, and waterfalls. It originated in fifth-century China but has subsequently become one of the canonical

formations of East Asian painting (fig. 1362-1367). In Japan, it featured prominently in the paintings of the Muromachi period best exemplified by the oeuvres of Sesshû Tôyô and Tenshō Shubun, and thereafter it was often employed by other types and schools of painting in Japan. Therefore, although conspicuous in Zak's paintings, the convention could have been seen by the artist in either Chinese or Japanese art. Whereas Japanese art was ubiquitous in the turn-of-the-century Paris and Europe, a pronounced and informed taste for Chinese art ensued from western, especially American¹²⁴, contact with Japanese scholarship in the late 19th century, leading to China's role as a favoured source of inspiration in the interwar period (Clunas 1997, 197). We cannot be sure that Zak was not familiar specifically with Chinese paintings in Paris at the time of creating the first series of his idylls, that is before 1920, but it seems unlikely considering that in this early period it was New York and London, rather than Paris that acted as centres of dealing in Chinese art (Clunas 1997, 197). Ascribing Zak's adoption of the mountain-water convention to Chinese shan-shui as opposed to the Japanese san-sui models is therefore a moot point; however, other stylistic elements present in Zak's idylls tip the balance in favour of Japanese rather than Chinese inspirations for the series.

Even a cursory glance at Chinese Sung landscape paintings, to which Zak's compositions have been traced, reveals that – being predominantly monochrome ink paintings – they refute colour. Strong, bright-coloured pigments, however, are one of the defining characteristics of the classical Japanese painting style of yamato-e. Initially, inspired by the Tang dynasty paintings, yamato-e became a hallmark style of Japan. Instead of being specific to a particular period in the history of Japanese art, it lent itself to various schools of painting, displaying a range of nuances in each. During the Heian period, yamato-e denoted any painting in the tradition of the highly coloured style favoured by the imperial court. During the Kamakura period, the style was applied to ink painting, generating compositions marked by a combination of the Chinese restraint of ink painting and the exuberance of bold colours of yamato-e. After the 15th century, the Tosa and Sumiyoshi schools of painting used this style of brilliant colours, decorative compositions and fine linework to courtly themes. It was at this time that yamato-e became increasingly miniaturist and gilded. The Edo period yamato Revivalist School (fukko yamato-ha) brought the style into prominence again. Both Rimpa and ukiyo-e and to a smaller extent the Kanô schools of art benefited from yamato-e. Even in

¹²⁴ It was Ernest Fenollosa agency that promoted Chinese in the USA. In 1894 he organised Boston's first exhibition of Chinese art. He also extolled its virtues in *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art: an Outline History of East Asiatic Design* (1912). In Poland, similar attitude characterised Feliks Jasiński, who voiced commendatory opinions on it in *Manggha. Promenades à travers le monde, l'art et les idées* (1901).

the Meiji period, Nihonga employed the traditional yamato-e pigments, tools, techniques, and elements of style.

The East Asian inspiration for Zak's landscapes was eclectic. It involved the shan-shui overall conception of landscape borrowed from Chinese and Japanese prototypes, the use of flat planes of vivid contrasting colour reminiscent of the Japanese yamato-e tradition, whereas the decorative designs, abstract shapes and rhythmic compositions are in turn analogous with the painting of the Rimpa school. Both the shan-shui and yamato-e conventions had infiltrated the painting of the Rimpa school, their elements becoming standard repertoire of Rimpa art.

Is it probable that in conceiving his landscapes Zak was prompted by an encounter with Rimpa art? Certain juxtapositions, as for example that of Kôrin's Yatsushi Eight-Planked Bridge (fig. 1367) with Zak's Fisherman (fig. 1368), render such a hypothesis plausible. It has been established that by the second decade of the 20th century Rimpa art was not an entirely unknown subject in the West (Clark, 1998, 68-82). Between the 1880s and the First World War there was a rapid improvement on knowledge of Rimpa art in France, Britain and the USA. Among the scholars and collectors who wrote about it were Gonse, Hayashi, Edmond de Goncourt, Anderson and Fenollosa. It is true that Rimpa art was not as avidly collected in Paris, where Zak lived during the first two decades of the 20th century, as it was in London, Boston or New York, but nonetheless, there would have been numerous opportunities for Zak to see genuine Rimpa art or its splendid reproductions. Emil Orlik, who must have seen Kôrin's paintings either in Japan or in Europe, extolled their artistic value and, more importantly for the present context, his use of colour:

I have added one more name to the list of those whom I both respect and admire; he is from Japan, and his name is Kôrin Ogata. The beauty of his painting lies in its myriad of forms and in the marvellous skill he displays in treating his figures and in using colours. Such skill we have never seen hitherto and can never see again. He is the best artist of Japan: not only of Japan, but he is the best colourist in the world. (Clark, 1998, 77)

Early École de Paris community included Japanese artists, who before coming to Paris had been associated with the Yôga movement in Japan. A prominent example was Mitsutani Kunishirô. Doris Croissant has pointed out that the Nihonga artists of the Nihon Bijutsu-in (Japan Art Institute) traced their roots specifically to Rimpa, claiming it was a conspicuously pure Japanese style (1983, 318). Although Yôga and Nihonga have been historically regarded as situated at two opposite ends of the scale of Japanese painting (Wong 2006, 130), such a rigid distinction, disregards the reciprocal borrowing between the two

categories.¹²⁵ Mitsutani as a Yōga artist, for example, drew on aspects of traditional Japanese art such as the san-sui compositional principle or the Rimpa approach to colour (fig. 1369-1371). It will be argued later that Foujita, in conceiving his ‘western-style’ paintings, went even further in his reliance on indigenous Japanese sources. The similarity between Mitsutani’s paintings and Zak’s landscapes is discernible, but they are also stylistically close to those by Jerzy Merkel (fig. 1372-1375). Other Polish artists of the early École de Paris who may be added to this group were Roman Kramsztyk (fig. 1376-1378) and Jan Rubczak (fig. 1379-1382, 1384). The former travelled with Zak to the French Riviera in 1915, where both painted landscapes in the idiom of san-sui. The latter’s landscapes also display parallels with Hokusai’s work (fig. 1383).

Ichimatsu Ningyō by Gustaw Gwozdecki and Others

Since the opening of Japan to the western world in the mid-19th century, there was a constant influx of Japanese art and curios of sorts into Europe and America. One of the most intriguing categories of items was the Japanese doll. Many of the Japanese uses and symbolical connotations of this diverse cultural phenomenon were in fact lost on the western beholder. As Alan Pate noted, their functions in their native land varied from ‘fertility talismans, ritual substitution in funerary rites, amulets to protect children, temporary lodging places for spirits invoked to bless and protect the home, sources of entertainment, objects of beauty to be admired, gifts conveying auspicious wishes or commemorating specific occasions, and children’s playthings and companions.’ (2008, 35) Certain statistics provided by Pate’s study convey the scale of this aspect of Japanese export, as well as indicate the magnitude of the western demand for Japanese dolls. We learn that in 1914 Japan’s production of export dolls exceeded that of Germany; that by 1916 the volume of doll imports into the USA was so high that a ban limiting their importation was introduced; that by 1927 Japan was the largest producer of celluloid dolls in the world; by 1936 dolls constituted the fourth largest Japanese export item; and by 1962 Japan was the largest toy maker in the world (39).

Japanese dolls were collected mainly in France, Britain and America. Significant collections of them belonged to Jules Adeline, Edward Sylvester Morse and Charles

¹²⁵ The term (Yōga) was coined in the Meiji Period (1868-1912) to reflect the diametrically different character of the (western) style of Japanese painting, which was created in accordance with western (European) traditional conventions, techniques and materials.

Longfellow. According to Pate, the Japanese doll assumed the status of an icon of Japonisme, second only to the Japanese woodblock (2008, 31). Indeed, their popularity is attested to by the frequency with which they appear in western painting.¹²⁶ In Poland, there were no collections of Japanese dolls, but they do appear occasionally in Polish painting of the period under consideration. Almost without an exception, these representations were created by Poles either living or sojourning in Paris, where Japanese dolls were abundant.

The very first known Polish depiction of *ichimatsu-ningyô*¹²⁷ was painted by Mehoffer during his 1894 stay in Paris (fig. 1402). It is also the only known representation of a male Japanese doll in Polish art. Wojtkiewicz's *Dolls* (fig. 1401) predates the artist's stay in Paris the following year, but displays an intriguing hint as to its Japanese association. The horizontal division into two registers is reminiscent of the handling of pictorial space in *ukiyo-e*, whereas the figures are flatly painted as if pasted onto the pictorial plane, not unlike in Makowski's work created in Paris *Girl with Chinese Figurines* (fig. 1403). The lower part of Wojtkiewicz's painting consists of a rhythmically organised band with animated dolls suspended in a black vacuum. These dolls, which appear to be more buoyant than the female human figures from the upper register, bear a resemblance to Japanese prototypes. It is discernible in the roundness of their heads, charming chubby faces, and the specific horseshoe shape of their coiffures, characteristic of the *ichimatsu-ningyô*. The first female figure from the left in the upper register also wears this type of coiffure, except here it is even more pronounced and shown from the profile. While the form of these figures alludes to the appearance of the Japanese doll, the symbolic content of the work is an interpretation of Heinrich von Kleist's theories of the marionette theatre, where the doll possesses grace that humans do not (Kleist 1982); as well as an extension of Maurice Maeterlinck's innovative conception of the 'static drama' (Maeterlinck 1904).

Metaphysical dimensions are also inherent in Alfons Karpiński's *Jane with a Japanese Doll* (fig. 1404), also painted in Paris. Anna Król interprets this casual but rather intimate scene as a variation on the popular theme of a beauty preening in a mirror, ubiquitous in *ukiyo-e* (2010, 92). Here the mirror, however, has been supplanted by a Japanese doll,

¹²⁶ The Japanese doll figures in the works by: the Frenchmen Jules Adeline (fig. 1386) and James Tissot; the Belgian Alfred Stevens (fig. 1388, 1391); the Englishman Charles Dater Weldon (fig. 1392); the Welsh artist Gwen John (fig. 1389); the Americans William Merritt Chase (fig. 1387), Mary Cassatt, Elizabeth Hope; the Canadian Paul Peel (fig. 1390); and the Russian Boris Kustodiev (fig. 1385).

¹²⁷ *Ichimatsu-ningyô* (市松人形) – play dolls representing little girls or boys, correctly proportioned and usually with flesh-coloured skin and glass eyes. The original *ichimatsu* were named after an 18th-century Kabuki actor, and must have represented an adult man, but since the late 19th century the term has applied to child dolls, usually made to hold in the arms, dress, and pose (either with elaborately made joints or with floppy cloth upper arms and thighs).

which becomes a metaphorical reflection of the sitter. Despite the discrepancy in the size of the pictorial surface taken up by Jane (large) and the eponymous doll (small), the focus of the picture lies with the doll.

Whereas in Karpiński's painting it is the human sitter who identifies with an inanimate object – the doll, Gustaw Gwozdecki's self-portrait from 1911 (fig. 1396) may be regarded as the artist's own act of identification with Japanese art and culture. To elucidate this point, we shall first take a look at Gwozdecki's paintings of Japanese dolls, all conceived and executed in Paris around 1911 (fig. 1394-1395, 1399). These compositions are essentially still lifes including such Japanese objects as kimonos and dolls, but the artist is not interested in these items as examples of beautiful objects, neither does he conceive these still lifes as exercises in worship of Japanese craftsmanship, nor does he marvel at their exoticism, contrary to what was the case with most Polish still lifes *à la japonaise*. Instead, Gwozdecki seems to use these potent objects to 'ignite' or 'trigger' his almost abstract, decorative schemes. Maria Gołąb has described this function of the Japanese prop as 'generative power' (Lipa 2003, 24).

One might ask how Gwozdecki arrived at this approach to painting. Anna Lipa has linked the appearance of the Japanese prop in his oeuvre with the person of Feliks Jasieński, with whom the artist came into contact in 1909, a fact confirmed by Gwozdecki's letter to Manggha, today in the possession of the Princes Czartoryskis' Library in Cracow (rkps 333). Because Jasieński did not collect Japanese dolls, we cannot treat his association with Gwozdecki as a definitive factor for the artist's interest in *ichimatsu-ningyô*. By the second decade of the 20th century, most important Parisian collections of Japanese art had been dispersed abroad. A new impetus for what Berger has termed 'the third wave of Japonisme' in Paris came from Charles Vignier and Raymond Koechlin, who between 1911 and 1914 organised six major exhibitions of Japanese art at the Musée National des Arts Décoratifs (Berger, 313). This is how Henri Matisse, Gwozdecki's friend, was able to re-familiarise himself with Japanese and Chinese art.

Matisse's Japonisme was analysed by Albert Barnes (1933), who established a link between his art and *ukiyo-e*. Relying on Barnes's study, Klaus Berger discerned in Matisse's oeuvre a heretofore unprecedented form of Japonisme (1980, 315). Instead of consisting in the appropriation of specific Japanese motifs or compositional devices, Matisse derived from the art of the Japanese woodblock a 'capacity to organize a surface through a rhythmic construction of pure colour and so to present a vibrant space' (Berger, 315). His *Still-life with Geranium* (1910) and *Still Life: Bowl of Oranges* (1912) (fig. 1393) are representative of his conception of planar abstraction based on Japanese examples. Although Matisse's Fauvist work is still representative, the portrayed reality matters less to him than a field of tensions

between signs and colours, a system of patterns and arabesques. Matisse's graphisme may certainly be traced to Japanese precedents. This 'double-layered quality' (Berger, 316), whereby a painting may be read either as the depicted scene or as an abstract rhythmical structure, is self-evident in Gwozdecki's *Still Life with a Japanese Doll*. In juxtaposition with Matisse's *Still Life with Oranges*, however, it goes one step further in its connection with Japan through the inclusion of an ichimatsu-ningyô. A similar method of 'designing' the pictorial space derived from Utamaro and the Japanese classics via Matisse is manifest in other works by Gwozdecki.

All these still lifes were painted in 1911, and all display a debt, both direct and indirect, to Japanese art, and all feature the same colour scheme: pink, red, black, green and white. This chromatic combination was also used by Gwozdecki in his self-portrait *Man in a Beret*. Self-portrait M. W. (fig. 1396), but their colouristic resemblance is not the only point of intersection between them. The artist made a conscious decision to identify himself with Japan through equating his own image with those of the Japanese dolls in his paintings. The eponymous beret, appearing to be a substitute for the sitter's hair, is greatly exaggerated to approach the specific shape of ichimatsu-ningyô's bob. The equation is emphasised by synthesised expressive eyes, eyebrows and lips. In this light, it appears adequate to interpret the work as Gwozdecki's declaration of Japanese predilection. Distant, but discernible hints of Gwozdecki's fascination with the hairdo of the Japanese doll are discernible in other paintings (fig. 1397-1398, 1497-1498, and 1508-1509).

Olga Boznańska is not considered to have been part of École de Paris, though she lived and painted in Paris between 1898 and her death in 1940 (Wierzbicka 2006, 34-35). Boznańska as well as such artists as Władysław Ślewiński and Józef Pankiewicz are traditionally excluded from the group on the basis of their belonging to an older generation and the fact that they revolved in different Parisian circles, socially superior, if not aristocratic indeed (Wierzbicka 2006, 34-35). Nonetheless, Boznańska deserves a mention in the present section for her series of still lifes with a Japanese doll (fig. 1405-1410). The doll represented, because it appears to be just one model that the artist used for all these paintings, was given priority within the compositions. Whether it is positioned centrally or not, in profile or en face, it stands out as the main motif among a medley of objects that merge into one another. The only other Japanese prop employed in only one composition is a brass heron. It is significant that Boznańska continued to resort to Japanese art for inspiration during the interwar period, decades after her first Japanese borrowings.

Interbellum École de Paris

Utamaro, Harunobu, Sumi-e, and the Japaneseness of Foujita's Painting

The very reason why Japanese artists came to Paris in the early decades of the twentieth century was the pursuit of western-style painting, a concept diametrically opposed to traditional Japanese painting. This decidedly western orientation did not however preclude simultaneous inclusion of aspects of Japaneseness in their otherwise western-style oil painting practice.

Foujita Tsuguharu came to Paris in 1913 to pursue a career as a western-style artist. Among his early Parisian works a series of urban landscapes depicting suburban Paris (fig. 1419) were to prove significant for his artistic development, and subsequently also as indirect models for emulation in works by Polish artists. Foujita's satisfaction with the series, as his first 'original' paintings untainted by derivation, encouraged him to explore further the very element that made them successful. That element was the reduction of the colour scheme to predominantly white and black.

For the Salon d'Automne of 1921 Foujita submitted three works, including *Five Nudes* (fig. 1421) and *Nude with Tapestry* (fig. 1423). These paintings were to establish Foujita's reputation as an artist in the West and brought him critical acclaim. One element of these compositions received considerably more attention from Foujita than any other. It was his own novel method with which he depicted the human skin. As he admitted himself, he drew inspiration for the luminescence and pearlescence of his female nudes from ukiyo-e, and more specifically from Utamaro and Harunobu (Foujita 1929, 21). Furthermore, not only did he apply this highly textured whiteness to the skin of the figures, but also to the surface of the canvases including the backgrounds, which elicited an effect akin to that of the blank space characteristic of Nihonga painting. The shapes of the portrayed figures were delineated with fine calligraphic lines, an approach also inspired by Nihonga. Though his canvases have been subjected to a scientific analysis in order to establish his procedure and the concoction of chemicals he used, the findings were not completely conclusive (Miyata 2006, 197-199). What matters more for the present context is that this whiteness was firmly rooted in traditional Japanese art. Foujita expressed this ambition unequivocally in a lecture he delivered in Japan:

In order to give form to my fine lines I needed a smoother and more lustrous canvas. It was hard to turn the blank space into a space rich in texture. This unpainted part has long been the strong point of Nihon-ga. However, it was not easy for me to find this

out. Each failure proved an experience and each defeat turned into progress so that I finally succeeded in discovering the ideal so-called white canvas. Sumi ink diluted with Japanese water was like placing water on top of oil. I poured more oil on top to detain the water. (Foujita 1929, 20-21) (tr. Masaaki Ozaki)

Well-received by the art milieu in France and Europe, the milky whiteness became Foujita's trademark for many years to come. But by no means was it the only Japanese characteristic of his oeuvre. As already mentioned, he adopted sumi-e calligraphic lines, which he executed with Japanese brushes. Other recourse to traditional Japanese art was evident in the planar quality of his paintings, oriental style of drawing and the use of such motifs as pattern textiles (fig. 1423) and the Chinese cloud motif (fig. 1416). His paintings of ecclesiastical interiors (fig. 1415) featured figures clearly based on those from Harunobu's woodblocks (fig. 1414). He also painted Japanese and western women in Japanese attire (fig. 1411-1413). In 1923, he published a book entitled *Japanese Legends*, which he illustrated with typically Japanese pictures (fig. 1417-1418). Around fifty other books published in France were illustrated by Foujita: *Geisha's Songs* (1926), *Shizuoka*, *Tranquil Princess* (1929), all of which offered a thoroughly Japanese experience. His *Composition with a Lion* (1928) resembles Hokusai's *Manga* in more than one respect. Some of his paintings, as for example *Portrait of Mrs Emily Crane Chadbourne*, displayed certain qualities of the Japanese folding screens (*byōbu*) in that they were highly decorative and featured large swaths of gold and silver paint. Even his self-portraits (fig. 1424) conjured up Japanese portraiture, in which information by indirection was a desired trait, and therefore suggestive details mattered greatly.

Alongside the Foujitean white, it was the motif of the cat that was another long-lasting trademark of his art (fig. 1428-1442). In fact, as Philis Birnbaum pointed out, 'the French remember him as *le peintre des chats, des petites filles, des jolies femmes* – the painter of cats, little girls and pretty women' (2006, 119). Although the reason for the strong presence of cats in his paintings must have been that he adored them passionately and owned them, it cannot be denied that they had also been a favoured motif in Japanese art. The cat was numerous painted and drawn by Foujita both as the main subject and as an accidental element of a composition. The Japanese quality of his depictions of cats was highlighted by the fact that Foujita perceived them from the Japanese artistic perspective full of insightfulness into their nature. Their different characters emanate from his pictures to the extent that even the space around them seems to be affected – a state conveyed by languid vibrating outlines encircling the figures of the cats.

Foujita used western oils and Japanese brushes, fused western settings and western art history with Japanese traditions. His oeuvre may be regarded as a form of Japonisme per se.

Like his friend Toda Kaiteki, he cashed in on the Japaneseness of his paintings. This strategy was good for business as Japonisme was still a force to contend with in France in the 1920s. It was also a time when modernist practitioners turned to non-European cultures to transcend European artistic traditions. Foujita disclosed his strategy in the following words:

The new artistic tendency recently in Europe is 'simplicity'. In other words, Western art is becoming Orientalised, Japanized. The reason why I was able to establish my career in Paris was that my paintings contained elements of Japanese-style painting. (Foujita 2005, 167)

But his shrewd business-like tactic was only part of the reason behind his adherence to native models. His patriotic feelings heightened by a sense of expatriate guilt played an equally important role. Kondô Fumito's observed:

Foujita had very strong feelings of himself as Japanese. He always thought of himself as Japanese who was working for the good of Japan. None of the other non-French artists who went to Paris and became part of the École de Paris believed that they were painting for the sake of their countries. Soutine and Modigliani, for example, did not feel that way. Hemingway was not a visual artist, but he never thought he was writing to improve the image of America. On the contrary, these artists were bohemian in their behaviour and felt that they had left their homelands to find something new for themselves. But not Foujita. He created paintings to improve the reputation of the Japanese. He said many times that he wanted to put all his energies into painting for the good of Japan. (Birnbaum, 137-138)

Foujita's Japanese Emulators in Paris

Foujita was by far the most prominent and successful of Japanese artists within École de Paris. His work was widely known and became the point of departure for other artists, including Japanese artists resident in Paris. Foujita must have been flattered, at least initially, by young Japanese artists' following his artistic path, as according to numerous accounts he was seen by them as sensei (teacher). The most copiable aspects of Foujita's work were of course the defining characteristics of his painting: the ivory-like white applied to human skin and the backgrounds of his canvases, as well as the subject of cats and other small animals. Foujita guarded the secret of his white mixture's formula to prevent imitators from copying him. This did not deter numerous investigators during his lifetime. Despite the fact that the particulars of the concoction were never disclosed during his lifetime, many artists attempted to imitate it in their own way.

Bandô Toshio (1895-1973) came to Paris in 1922 and from then until 1924 shared housing and studio with Foujita. His paintings reveal close parallels with Foujita's in that both the fashionable whiteness dominates them clearly, and that their main subjects are female nudes and small animals (fig. 1443-1449). In fact, Foujita accused Bandô of stealing his technique, and his landscape and still life styles. He also fell out with the Parisian art dealer Georges Chéron, who had commissioned from Bandô a very long series of small paintings that could pass as japonaiserie (Birnbaum, 164). Bandô himself was deeply disturbed by the fact that French critics invariably compared his work to Foujita's and even referred to him as a member of the Foujita school. Following Bandô's move to Pierrefitte in 1924, the critic Andre Warnod attempted to highlight the differences between Bandô's and Foujita's paintings, there is no escaping the fact that the former emulated the latter.

Other Japanese artists of École de Paris in whose art one detects Foujita's famed trademarks were: Koyanagi Sei (1886-1948), who arrived in Paris in 1922, Tanaka Yasushi (1886-1942), who came to Paris in 1920, Hasegawa Kiyoshi, and Oguisu Takanori (1901-1986). Regardless of what aspects of Foujita's art were imitated, the fact that he was looked up to as an artistic authority in Paris must have brought him more fame and consequently put his form of Japonisme in the spotlight.

Polish Foujitaesque Japonisme

It was the Polish poet-turned-art-dealer Leopold Zborowski active in Paris, who took Foujita under his auspices and in 1918 and organised a trip to Cagnes in the south of France inviting Amadeo Modigliani, Chaim Soutine and Foujita to come along. His intention was to launch their careers by boosting the sales of their paintings within this thriving art market populated by rich tourists. Though his initiative did not bring the planned result, it was the beginning of Foujita's friendship with numerous Polish artists of École de Paris. It was most likely through Zborowski's introductions that Foujita met and befriended Moïse Kisling, Simon Mondzian, Jan Wacław Zawadowski, Efraim Mandelbaum, Leopold Gottlieb, Jerzy Merkel, Alicja Halicka, Leon Indenbaum and Włodzimierz Terlikowski. Foujita was on familiar terms with certain Polish members of the group. He was painted by for example Włodzimierz Terlikowski, and his head was sculpted by Leon Indenbaum (fig. 1461). The subject of these friendships has not been explored as yet and the following arguments depend solely on stylistic and iconographical analysis of works by Polish artists of École de Paris, who came into contact with Foujita.

The criteria used in the search for the transpositions of Foujita's art in the works of Polish artists are twofold: the presence of Foujita-inspired whiteness in their landscapes and portraiture, and the obvious measure of Japonisme – the use of literal 'quotations' of Japanese culture. The latter type of inspirations appeared frequently in Terlikowski's paintings, where we encounter a Japanese parasol (fig. 1453), a Buddha figurine (fig. 1455), a Japanese doll (fig. 1454), and a Japanese fan (fig. 1456). Women dressed in East Asian, mostly Japanese, attire are present in paintings by Adolf Milich (fig. 1460), Roman Kramsztyk (fig. 1458), Karpiński (fig. 1457), and Terlikowski (fig. 1459). Other Japanese accents feature in the works by Alicja Halicka (fig. 1463), Tadeusz Makowski (fig. 1470, 1471), Zygmunt Menkes (fig. 1462), and Robert Piekelný (fig. 1474).

As for the other type of Foujita-inspired works, those that interpreted his famous dominant white, and did so with varying degrees of success, it is more difficult to establish direct links with Japaneseness. One has to bear in mind that Foujita acknowledged his own debt in this respect to Utamaro and Harunobu (Foujita 1929, 21), but whether his emulators were aware of its Japanese genesis of the Foujitaesque white or not remains in the realm of speculation. Nonetheless, the overwhelming ubiquity of various shades of white in the works by Polish members of *École de Paris* is hard to dismiss as a coincidence. Certain paintings employing direct 'quotations' of Japan, mentioned above, in particular the still lifes by Foujita's close friend Terlikowski, are thoroughly infused with white, albeit applied in a different manner. It was the landscape and the portrait however that provide the best examples of this type of inspirations. Such landscapes were painted predominantly during the 1920s and also with a lesser frequency in the 1930s (that is directly after Foujita made his whiteness well-known) by Terlikowski, Halicka, Milich, Eugeniusz Eibisch, and Władysław Jahl (fig. 1475-1494). Significantly, both Terlikowski and Halicka used the black delicate lines for the irregular contours in their paintings, not unlike the *sumi-e* strokes employed by Foujita.

Gustaw Gwozdecki's portraits created in the late 1910s and especially during the following decade appear to have merged two diverse strands of inspirations. The first – the Egyptian Fayum funerary portraiture – has been acknowledged repeatedly, whereas the other – East Asian has not as yet. His portrait of Kiki de Montparnasse (fig. 1497), the muse of the 1920s Paris painted by many *École de Paris* artists including Foujita, resembles a Japanese mask, while the composition is asymmetrically laid out in the East Asian idiom. Many other portraits by Gwozdecki from the period (fig. 1498-1509) reveal the artist's fascination with strong oriental facial features, at times even confirmed in their titles (fig. 1507). Other examples seem to continue his former preoccupation with the coiffures of Japanese *ichimatsu* dolls (fig. 1508-1509).

Upon examining a large number of portraits by Poles from École de Paris, the whiteness of the sitters' faces and often the entire bodies strikes as their common denominator (fig. 1510-1557). Each of the artists in question approached it in a different manner, sometimes with effects rather far from the Foujitean ideal. Because Foujita's formula for his white concoction was closely guarded by him, it was impossible for others to reproduce his lustrous canvases exactly. It must have been the idea of using white as the dominant hue, observed in Foujita's work that appealed to these artists. For some this method became a virtual hallmark, as was the case with Raymund Kanelbaum, Leopold Gottlieb, and Moïse Kisling. In many of their portraits the white is applied with an unusual intensity, often eliciting impressions of grotesqueness and even eeriness. This approach was also favoured, albeit less frequently adopted, by Makowski, Terlikowski, Merkel, Maria Marevna, Mela Muter and Jakub Zucker. With regards to the white, Foujita's paintings served as a catalyst for Polish Japonisme, regardless of whether Polish artists were aware of the Japanese ancestry of the white.

Józef Hecht's Bestiary

An important aspect of Polish Japonisme at École de Paris was the work of the engraver and printmaker Józef Hecht. Born in the Polish city of Łódź, and educated at Cracow Academy of Fine arts (1909-1914), Hecht travelled extensively in Europe, and finally settled in the Montparnasse area of Paris. From 1926 onwards, he was extremely prolific and in 1927 opened the famous Atelier 17 (today known as Atelier Contrepoint), a cooperative printmaking studio that would make great impact on such artists as Picasso, Chagal and Giacometti. He worked in the medium of burin engraving, a classic copper engraving technique, which he taught to, among many others, the British surrealist painter Stanley William Hayter. Despite the fact that he spent the remainder of his life in close vicinity to Foujita's place of residence and work, I have not been able to establish any direct links between these two artists. Nonetheless, whether inspired by Foujita's Japonisme or not, Hecht's oeuvre displays numerous characteristics indicating familiarity with the Japanese genre of *kachô-ga*, as well as other types of Japanese art (fig. 1558-1624). Hecht's prints feature a whole plethora of animal species, some of them collected in volumes such as *Noah's Ark* (1926) and *Atlas* (1928).

His style remained rather consistent throughout his career and can be described in a nutshell as black-and-white compositions drawn in sinuous lines against the vacuum of blank nondescript background. His prints resemble on many levels Wojciech Weiss's Japanese-

inspired *kachô-ga*, and there is a good reason for that in the fact that Hecht was his student at Cracow Academy. Most of Weiss's *kachô-ga* were painted in ink, watercolour or pastel, while Hecht's were mainly their graphic translations. There are a number of other signifiers of Hecht's recourse to Japanese models: frequent use of cartouches modelled on *ukiyo-e* (fig. 1583), the use of the motif of pine trees drawn in a recognizably Japanese way (fig. 1561), lack of symmetry, decorativeness of compositions (fig. 1598), and diagonality (fig. 1603). Certain prints could serve as illustrations for Zen parables (fig. 1606, 1624), but most are evocative of the Zenga style. In addition, the artist's monogram was also styled on Japanese examples.

Manifestations of Japonisme in Interwar Painting

Continuation of Polish Modernist Japonisme

Polish avant garde was born between 1911 and 1913 (Kossowska 2004). A break with the representational function of art was advocated by young Cracow artists such as Tytus Czyżewski, Zbigniew Pronaszko and Andrzej Pronaszko. It was only towards the end of the war, around 1917/1918 that avant garde tendencies materialised into the formation of artists' groups: 'The Formists' in Cracow, 'Bunt' in Poznań, and 'Jung Idysz' in Łódź. Alongside the development of such movements, the interwar period in Poland witnessed the perpetuation of Young Poland artistic traditions. The main reason for this prolonged period of Modernism in Polish art was that art academies and other art educational institutions were still manned by Modernists. This was also the case with Cracow Academy of Fine Arts, where the entire teaching staff had been hired by Fałat years before, or were students there during the Young Poland period. These relatively conservative circles were responsible for much of the Polish Japonisme during the interbellum.

Essentially, the nature of Polish Japonisme between 1919 and 1939 as expressed in painting did not differ from the preceding period. Portraiture in Japanese garb was equally popular if not more so (fig. 1625-1642). Even more common were still lifes with Japanese objects (fig. 1643-1697, 1700-1701), but now the large majority of the objects depicted in such still lifes were ceramics. To more interesting examples of still lifes *à la japonaise* from the period belong the works of the twin brothers Menasze and Efraim Seidenbeutel, which feature *ukiyo-e* prints (fig. 1643-1644). The prints in the painting have been erroneously identified in several publications as designed by Kitagawa Utamaro and Utagawa Kunisada.

In fact, one of them is clearly Tōshūsai Sharaku's 1794 contrasting study of two characters from the play a Medley of Tales of Revenge: Bodara Chozaemon and Kanagawa Gon played by the Kabuki actors Nakajima Wadaemon and Nakamura Konzo (fig. 1643). The other print in the painting is too sketchily conveyed to make a definite identification, but it could be a shunga leaf from either Utamaro or Kunisada.

The decorativeness of Art Nouveau, which had partial genesis in Japanese art, also continued to be popular, especially in the works by Okuń (fig. 1698, 1705) and Stabrowski (fig. 1699). Both artists employed juxtapositions of bold patterns as well as characteristic Japanese/Art Nouveau motifs such as butterflies and peacock feathers.

Landscape painting also retained its relationship to Japanese art, though many of the artistic devices borrowed from it had by then been subsumed into Polish art to the extent that they may have been perceived as native and no longer as borrowings from Japan. Fałat still painted his byōbu-like compositions of creeks in snow, and winter and autumnal vistas (fig. 1706-1709, 1719). Winter landscape in particular continued to conjure up Japanese imagery as for example in the cases of Paweł Steller's paintings (fig. 1713-1715) and Maciej Nehring's works (fig. 1716, 1718). Rafał Malczewski, the son of the artist and professor of Cracow Academy of Fine Arts Jacek Malczewski, excelled in watercolour mountainous landscapes painted in a synthetic manner and containing an occasional human presence. Some of his works, although painted in Canada, bring to mind Japanese Mt Fuji imagery (fig. 1757, 1766-1767). Other transpositions of this Japanese icon were present in paintings by Stanisław Ignacy Fabjański (fig. 1929), Zygmunt Waliszewski (fig. 1730), Witold Florkiewicz (fig. 1733), and others. Other popular formal devices once borrowed from Japanese art that continued to be used were: the crating motif (fig. 1723-1726), bird's-eye view (fig. 1712, 1739, 1741), and the view through a window (fig. 1734-1737). Japanese-inspired formats also remained popular (fig. 1742-1749).

Perhaps the most diverse and best represented type of Japanese inspirations in Polish painting of the interwar period was kachō-ga (fig. 1777-1834). Wyczółkowski produced numerous depictions of flowers and animals in sundry techniques. His kachō-ga inspired oeuvre from the 1920s and 1930s can be divided into two separate strands: black-and-white ink paintings drawn either with a calligraphic line (fig. 1777-1781, 1783) or with broad stains evocative of the Japanese design concept of nōtan (fig. 1783-1785), and the other – watercolour and pastel paintings executed with vivid contrasting hues (fig. 1786-1800, 1802). Polish versions of kachō-ga proliferated during this time also in the works by Sichulski, Kamocki, Boznańska, Gwozdecki, Zieleniewski, Okuń, Karpiński, Gałek, Augustynowicz, Stabrowski, Adam Bunsch, Kira Banasińska, Kazimierz Grus, Stanisław Ejsmond, Jan

Wacław Zawadowski, Jerzy Edward Winiarz, Antoni Kozakiewicz, and Zbigniew Pronaszko (fig. 1801, 1803-1834).

Buddhist Parable in Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz's Christian Allegory

The vast majority of Japanese inspirations in the history of Polish art can be categorised as either formal or thematic/iconographic adaptations. These types did not require the artists to have a deeper insight into the narrative nuances of East Asian art. By and large, in these cases, the language barrier was not an issue, and did not stand in the way of assimilating various elements of oriental art and culture. Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz's *The Temptation of St Anthony II* (1921-1922) (fig. 2029) represents an entirely different category of inspiration. It draws an equation mark between two culturally and religiously disparate metaphors of spiritual path. Witkiewicz did not know the Japanese or Chinese language, but he must have been familiar with certain East Asian narratives, or at least with the classical Zen Buddhist parable *Ten Ox-Herding Pictures*. This East Asian moral tale originated in China in the 12th century, but was soon introduced to Japan. A famous illustrated version of it, based on the original imagery created in the 12th century by Kakuan Shion in China, was made by Tenshō Sūbun during the Muromachi period, and is held today at the Shōkokuji Temple in Kyoto (fig. 2026-2027). Witkiewicz could not have become familiar with the parable through the writings of Daisetsu Teitarō Suzuki, who was instrumental in disseminating the knowledge of Buddhism in the West. In 1927, Suzuki published *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, in which he introduced the story to the western reader, but that took place five years after the completion of *The Temptation of St Anthony II*. Because the tale had assumed the status of a classic Zen kōan, and by the early 20th century there were other, narrative and visual, versions of it, Witkiewicz's encounter with it could have been multiple.

The theme of temptation in general and of St Anthony's temptation in particular was undertaken by Witkiewicz more than once, but it was the 1921-1922 painterly adaptation of the subject that incorporated two scenes taken from the Zen parable of *Ten Ox-Herding Pictures*: scene four (*Getting Hold of the Ox*) and scene five (*Taming the Ox*). As Wojciech Sztaba pointed out, Witkacy's work is based first and foremost on Gustave Flaubert's *Temptation de St. Antoine* (2000, 108-115). According to him, Witkacy did not rely on the tale of the saint's life contained in *The Golden Legend*, or the entire rich painting tradition of the theme, instead he drew inspiration from Flaubert's iconography and imagination, his idea of constant change and transition, a whirl of events and forms. But he also chose purposefully

the two scenes from the Zen lore as symbolising the struggle on the way to spiritual enlightenment, in his interpretation equivalent to the Christian theme of temptation.

Witkiewicz's Japonisme has not been as yet studied in great detail, though his oeuvre presents plenty of material for such an investigation. As the son of Stanisław Witkiewicz, the 'patriarch' of Polish modernism, who had developed a favourable attitude to Japanese art, as a student of Jan Stanisławski, who led the famous 'school' of landscape painting at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts that looked to Japan for artistic solutions; as an intimate friend of Witold Wojtkiewicz, whose grotesque referenced Japanese art; and finally as an artist whose persona was formed in Cracow with Jasiński's and other collections of oriental art, Witkacy (as he chose to be called), experienced multiple point of intersection with Japanese art and culture. The remarks on Chinese painting, with which he equipped his *New Forms in Painting and the Misunderstandings Arising Therefrom* (1919), are evidence of both his interest and knowledge in East Asian art. Another unexplored aspect of Witkiewicz's Japonisme is the large group of commercial pastel portraits painted during the interwar period (fig. 2010-2024). Many of them depict sitters on either abnormally long necks or as heads detached from the rest of the bodies, in a vain clearly inspired by the ghost imagery of Hokusai, Kuniyoshi and other ukiyo-e artists. In the portrait of Irena Krzywicka (1928) (fig. 2013), Witkacy reinforced the Japanese reference by placing an image of an erupting volcano stylised on Hokusai's prototypes.

Japonisme Intensifies in Interwar Graphic Arts

The interwar period is known in the history of Polish art as the golden age of graphic art.¹²⁸ The pioneering achievements of Polish graphic artists during the Young Poland period gave rise to an unprecedented boom in this branch of artistic expression in the subsequent decades. Following the resurrection of the state in 1918, the idea of creating a distinctive Polish style in art came to the fore. Much of this ideology found expression in the art of the

¹²⁸ The significant and rapid development of graphic arts in Poland during the interwar period has been acknowledged by scholarship on numerous occasions, one of which was Maria Grońska's book (1971). The epithet 'złoty wiek' (golden age) has occasionally been applied to this period with reference to the flourishing of graphic arts in Poland, most recently in the exhibition catalogue *Grafika polska, 1918-1939 ze zbiorów Biblioteki Polskiej w Montrealu*. *Polski Instytut Naukowy w Kanadzie i Biblioteka Polska = Estampes polonaises, 1918-1939: du fonds iconographique de la Bibliothèque polonaise de Montréal / l'Institut polonais des arts et des sciences au Canada et la Bibliothèque polonaise = Polish prints, 1918-1939: from the collection of the Polish Library in Montreal / the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in Canada and the Polish Library* (Wyczyński 1999).

woodblock print, especially within the Rytm group founded by Władysław Skoczylas in 1922 in Warsaw.

Japanese inspirations present in Polish graphic arts of the period were diverse and very frequent, but the two genres that proved most absorbent in this respect were representations of flowers, plants and animals, as well as the landscape. The former category was represented above all by Adam Bunsch (fig. 1852-1894). He was educated at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Józef Mehoffer and in 1921 settled in Bielsko in the Beskid Mountains. His woodblock output was extremely large, and the overwhelming majority of his prints display undeniable links with Japanese *kachô-ga* (fig. 1852-1894). This strand of the artist's creativity was only one of many, others included painting, wall polychromy, stained glass design, and even play writing. He remained faithful to the woodblock for the rest of his life, as well as to the Japanese aesthetic evident even in the 1960s. The formats of his prints often copied elongated horizontal and vertical Japanese models, and the paper he used was also Japanese, in some cases with silk threads through it. The flora and fauna in his prints were represented in supple decorative lines and using a wide palette of vibrant colours (added to the blocks in watercolour). Bunsch's prints are reminiscent of the Japanese Maruyama-Shijô school of painting and even the highly decorative creations of the eccentric Japanese painter Itô Jakuchû, in that he concentrated on objective realism endowed with an element of playfulness and humour. Furthermore, upon a closer inspection the nuances of birds' feathers of animals' furs are not as intricate as it might appear. In this respect too, Bunsch seems to have emulated painters such as Maruyama Ôkyo, who aimed at eliciting the 'essence' of a being or object rather than its ultimate realism. Besides Bunsch, many other artists produced Polish versions of *kachô-ga*: Jacek Mierzejewski (fig. 1836), Paweł Steller (fig. 1895), Aleksander Laszenko (fig. 1897-1898), and, of course, Wyczółkowski (fig. 1912-1913).

It was during the interwar period that women began studying at universities in large numbers for the first time in Polish history.¹²⁹ With regards to female academic aspirations, Maria Curie-Skłodowska was an important role model for Polish women, having been awarded the Nobel Prize for Physics in 1903 and for Chemistry in 1911. The general intensification of the feminist movement and women's social and political emancipation resulted in an unprecedented rise in the numbers of female artists at art academies¹³⁰. Many of

¹²⁹ During the first year of the existence of the University of Warsaw (1915) women constituted 9% of all students, in 1918 – 20%, in 1923/1924 – 35%, and in 1932/1933 – 41% (Fuszara 2006, 40).

¹³⁰ Until 1920, despite numerous petitions and protests, women were not allowed to enrol in Cracow Academy of Fine Arts, which influenced favourably the development of private schools in Cracow, and other cities (Wojciechowski 1967, 157). The Cracow Academy of Fine Arts regulations for the year 1920 (article 5) permitted women to become official students for the first time (Ślesiński 1974, 517).

these women were receptive to the long-lasting Polish taste for Japanese art. Wiktorina Goryńska, who grew up in Britain and then in the 1920s was educated in Warsaw Academy of Fine Arts, and the Kunstgewerbeschule in Vienna, was taught the woodblock technique by Władysław Skoczylas in Warsaw. However, she rejected his folklore themes and stylisation, instead becoming known mainly for depictions of cats, dogs and other animals (fig. 1835, 1838-1849). Apart from their Japanese style, these portraits of animals were often marked by Goryńska with recognizably Japanese-styled monograms. Other female artists who incorporated the themes and styles of Japanese *kachô-ga* were Zofia Stankiewicz (fig. 1837, 1993), Kira Banasińska (fig. 1850), Irena Mińska-Golińska (fig. 1851), and Wanda Komorowska (fig. 1899-1911). The landscape depicted with Japanese-borrowed artistic devices was also very popular with Polish female artists of the interbellum. Zofia Stankiewicz's oeuvre is a good example (fig. 1989-1991, 1993-1995, 2000), but also the work of Janina Konarska (fig. 1971, 1973-1974), Ilka Kuczyńska-Fessler (fig. 1972), and Wanda Komorowska (fig. 1999).

Many examples of Polish Japonisme from the interwar period represent inspirations that had been adopted numerous times during the preceding decades by artists of the previous generation. As a result, a certain aesthetic that displayed links with Japanese art had become popular to an extent that makes it more difficult to distinguish between direct and indirect appropriations from Japanese art. This most certainly was the case with the landscape in the graphic arts. At the risk of overgeneralising, it seems that while the Japonisme of female artists tended to fall into the category of indirect appropriations, many male artists appear to have sought recourse to Japanese art directly.¹³¹ In certain cases it has been possible to trace their inspirations to specific Japanese works. Undoubtedly, Władysław Bielecki's woodblock prints are most relevant in this respect (fig. 1914-1968). Though he did not study at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts, he lived in Cracow and his art developed under the influence of the informal Cracow school of landscape launched by Jan Stanisławski whose Japonisme has been discussed earlier. Bielecki's prints employed many of the formal devices that are typical of *ukiyo-e*: planar quality of the composition made up of flat patches of colour delineated with black contours, fortuitous framing, objects cropped by the frame, the crating motif, unusual

Warsaw Academy of Fine Arts, which opened in 1904, did not introduce a ban on female enrolment from its inception (Wojciechowski 1967, 157). Between 1923 and 1939, Warsaw Academy of Fine Arts admitted 1423 students in total, of whom 615 (43%) were women (Perkowska 1999, 152).

¹³¹ This apparent difference between the ways in which Polish female and male artists referenced Japanese art during the interwar period is merely a tentative observation made on the basis of the artworks analysed within this thesis; and it requires a further investigation in order to establish its validity.

colour combinations, the pars pro toto principle, the lack of symmetry, and diagonal layouts. His subjects, mostly the architecture of Cracow and the landscape of its surroundings, display a tendency towards decorativeness at times with a clear disregard for realism and local colour.

Among his works that are most evocative of ukiyo-e are: *Kościuszko Mound* (fig. 1914) – an interpretation of Mt Fuji's imagery; *Wawel from the Bernardine Monastery* (fig. 1919), in which the artist conveyed the rain using the Japanese convention of multiple diagonal lines, and included falling autumnal leaves in the shape of Japanese characters; and those depicting winter landscapes (fig. 1920, 1924-1925, 1928-1930) and autumnal foliage (fig. 1915-1918).

Arguably the most interesting adaptations of ukiyo-e within Bielecki's oeuvre, without a precedent in the history of Polish Japonisme, are the depictions of the hall of an inn in Klimontów (fig. 1967-1968). Bielecki must have based these compositions on one of the many representations of the Kabuki theatre (fig. 1966). During the 18th century, the influx of western art to Japan gave rise to the genre of uki-e (lit. floating picture), images in which the three-dimensionality of the scene was structured on the western principle of vanishing-point perspective. Okumura Masanobu was the most important representative of this type, but it was also popular with Nishimura Shigenaga and the artists of the Torii school. These woodblock prints showed predominantly interiors of the Kabuki theatres and other buildings where the parallel lines of the wooden beams worked as a reliable aid in creating a sense of depth by means of linear perspective. Bielecki's somewhat humorous translations rely on the same, albeit slightly exaggerated like in many Japanese cases, principle of perspective. But although they do not show the Kabuki theatre, its architectural elements have been translated into corresponding features. Its overall internal structure inclusive of the roofing is strikingly similar to the Japanese equivalent. The side walls are boarded up on one side and covered with rudimentary figurative drawings on the other, creating an impression of a multitude of small items packed together, which corresponds to the seating areas of the Kabuki theatre (*sajiki*). Similar effect of business on the floor of the inn – corresponding with the Kabuki's area for the audience (*masu*) – was achieved with an abstract pattern of patches of colour. The *kamite* (stage left, and in the Japanese theatre the most exalted space) was translated into the entrance to the inn's hall. Finally, the most conspicuous feature in Bielecki's versions is a path positioned diagonally across the floor, an element that was clearly inspired by the Japanese walkway extending into the audience of the Kabuki theatre (*hanamichi*).

The woodblock prints of Edmund Bartłomiejczyk, a graduate of Cracow Academy of Fine Arts constitute another group abundant in Japanese inspirations. His *Rafts* (fig. 1969) depict a scene of timber rafting captured from a high vantage point and with no horizon line. The artist made use of the Japanese conventions for representing waves and ripples, as well as

endowed the composition with a colour scheme reminiscent of ukiyo-e. The rafts cut the view diagonally, a tendency even more pronounced in *Out in the Fields* (fig. 2003) and *Wet Monday* (fig. 2004). Like Bielecki, and many other graphic artists of the time, Bartłomiejczyk, instead of signing his works with his name, used a monogram, a trend that gained momentum by the Japanese-inspired practice of the Viennese Workshops, and then the Cracow Workshops to which Bartłomiejczyk belonged.

Many Polish Modernist artists continued to create during the interwar period, but there was a clear tendency for many of them to gradually move away from painting in favour of graphic arts. Among Polish devout Japonistes, Weiss and Wyczółkowski are the best examples of this transition. It seems that neither of them ever thought that they had exhausted the artistic opportunities Japanese art and culture offered. As late as the late 1930s, on a postcard to his wife, Weiss included a remark which confirms that Japan was still at the forefront of his mind. He stated that then, in his sixties, he had attained a high level of artistic proficiency, but that he aspired to improve further in emulation of Hokusai (Renata Weiss, personal communication).¹³² Indeed, Weiss continued to reference Japanese art throughout the interwar period. His woodblocks from the period are often translations of his earlier paintings, but not infrequently the change of medium triggered a heightened Japanese sensibility in them. A series of views from the windows of Cracow Academy of Fine Arts, made at the beginning of the 1940s are a case in point (fig. 1975-1979). His monotypes from the 1920s (fig. 1984-1988), especially *Rocks and the Sun* (fig. 1985), are strongly reminiscent of Japanese monochrome sumi-e mountainous landscapes to which Weiss added washes of delicate colour.

Other artists, who looked to Japan for inspiration from their graphic art at the time, were Jan Wojnarski (fig. 1970), Leon Kowalski (fig. 1981-1983), and Stanisław Filipkiewicz (fig. 1996).

The Interwar Japonisme of Leon Wyczółkowski

Considering the length of Wyczółkowski's involvement with Japanese art, which spanned five decades, the diversity of the types of Japanese inspirations in his work, the fact that of all artists, he was the closest to Feliks Manggha Jasieński, that he himself avidly

¹³² I am grateful to Ms Renata Weiss, the artist's granddaughter for making this information available to me.

collected oriental art, and finally that as a pedagogue he played an important role in the dissemination of the taste for Japanese art among Polish artists, it is not an exaggeration to single him out as a giant of Polish Japonisme.

Not unlike Jasieński, who donated his large collection of art and crafts to the National Museum in Cracow, Wyczółkowski offered his collection to the National Museum in Poznań in 1921. Although it was partially dispersed during the war, the bulk of it was exhibited in 2011 in Poznań and Bydgoszcz museums (National Museum in Poznań 2011). Of course, the Japanese content of this gift constituted only a small portion of the artist's Japanese experience. Above all, it was Jasieński's collection, to which Wyczółkowski had an unlimited access that provided a much richer source of knowledge on Japanese art. Nonetheless, even the recent exhibition managed to convey his penchant for Japan, but also China (fig. 2030-2044).

Hiroshige, Calligraphy and Wyczółkowski's Portraits of Trees

Wyczółkowski maintained that the most valuable Japanese lesson to him was the immediacy of creation. Instead of the time-consuming process of perfecting each work through changes and corrections, he preferred to start from scratch with the hope of achieving a desired result without recourse to contrived drudgery. In this approach, he owed a great deal to the example of the Japanese painter or calligrapher, whose work was often completed within a very short time. As an artist of energetic and spontaneous disposition, he created works, to use his words, 'in a day or in an instant'. This mode of working required of him an ability to make quick decisions and an experienced hand of a draughtsman. Graphic techniques as well as ink, watercolour and pastel painting, to which Wyczółkowski turned almost exclusively around 1902 at the instigation of Feliks Jasieński, suited well his instinctive and impatient nature. His lithographic press (fig. 2045-2046) as well as the Japanese paraphernalia for ink painting (fig. 2048) have survived at the Bydgoszcz museum that bears his name. These means of artistic expression were also attractive to Wyczółkowski in that they allowed him to explore the use of black and white. Colour graphics, in his view, contradicted its purpose, and if colour was to be used, it should be only secondary not to obstruct the graphic value of a composition. Wyczółkowski's monochromatic works from the interwar period are virtual symphonies of tones ranging from deep black through a continuum of greys to dazzling white.

Lithographic representations of winter landscapes from the 1920s are regarded to be the pinnacle of Wyczółkowski's Japonisme (fig. 2049-2051). A direct influence of

Hiroshige's woodblock winter landscapes is discernible here; however, they also display a calligraphic quality evident in the use of spontaneous line, where every pulsating note becomes the final form of the work. These symphonies in black and white feature intricate arabesques of frosted branches and twigs. Such a tendency in art to treat representational surface in a decorative manner is characteristic of Wyczółkowski's late work. A Dry Branch Against Trees in Blossom from 1933 (fig. 2053) was inspired by Hiroshige's Plum Garden at Kamiedo (fig. 2052), the same print that Van Gogh interpreted in Flowering Plum Tree – Japonaierie (fig. 2053). Just like his earlier mountain landscapes, Wyczółkowski's graphic depictions of trees conform to the pars pro toto principle. Following the popular convention observed in ukiyo-e, he cropped the trees in a way that allowed the beholder only a view of their lower part (fig. 2056-2080). All compositions in this category are asymmetrical with the cropped tree trunks situated in the foreground. These principles of composition are borrowed from Japanese woodblock print, however, in contrast to ukiyo-e, Wyczółkowski's winter landscapes are devoid of human presence and animals, with few exceptions where the barely noticeable small human figure serves to emphasise the giant dimensions of the trees. Otherwise the artist avoided anecdote and narrative content in order to concentrate on the essence of the subject depicted.

Indeed, not unlike in the tradition of Japanese Nanga or literati painting flourishing in the late Edo period, Wyczółkowski's representations of trees focus on conveying the rhythm of nature, rather than the technical realistic depiction of it. In addition, both Nanga painting and Wyczółkowski's trees are black-and-white compositions which only occasionally admit the addition of light colour. The artist reveals his extremely personal relationship to nature in general and the trees as the subject of his works in particular. Each tree is endowed with a unique personality and original character, to the extent that these works have been described as portraits of trees rather than landscape. Wyczółkowski employed a similar approach in the depictions of Polish flowers and architecture. Since his childhood he was drawn to the forest in whose darkness he hoped to find mystery, hallucination and even fear. Sunset in *Gościeradz Park* (fig. 2057) conveys well the eerie mood with an almost horror-like tension. In this black-and-white painting, the artist added accents of red watercolour, but only as an auxiliary feature. The red section of the painting, while forming a part of the overall composition, appears also to function as an independent element of the composition in a manner reminiscent of Japanese composite formats in ukiyo-e imagery.

Wyczółkowski made frequent associations between music and painting. About the painting *Spruce Tree in the Sun* (fig. 2060) he said:

I built this composition as if I was composing a piece of music. The tone of this symphony is set by the dominant expressive motif of dry sun-bathed branches and twigs, the scale of tonal variety is conveyed through an array of nuanced hues of black, grey and white; and the main theme of the opus is the central area of light. (Twarowska 1960, 70)

Already as an eighty-year-old man Wyczółkowski turned to portraits of trees in blossom. His cherry, apple, pear and plum trees explode with their sun-lit dazzling blossoms exposed against dark backgrounds of the gloomy forest. Stark contrasts of black and white are an inseparable feature of Wyczółkowski's oeuvre from the interwar period. Margaret, the Pear in Blossom (fig. 2059) from 1933 depicts Wyczółkowski's beloved pear tree from his own orchard. So strong was the impression of the tree on the artist's imagination that he depicted it in numerous ways. The tree is emphatically personalised by Wyczółkowski, who gives it a female name in the title. Margaret is also present in Dry Tree Trunk (fig. 2055), but here it serves as a light background for the old dried-out apple tree trunk in the foreground. This symbolic theme of juxtaposition of life and death, here expressed through the clash of light and dark, also has parallels with Japanese art. The intensity of the contrast is enhanced by the combination of black ink in which the artist rendered the dry tree trunk, and an extremely fine lithographic design used to represent the blossoming background.

The idea of the interaction of light and dark defines Wyczółkowski's work from the period between the beginning of the twentieth century and his death in 1936. His practice in this respect resembles the Japanese design concept of *nôtan*, embodied in the ancient symbol of the Yang and the Yin. The mirror images, one black and one white, revolving around a point of equilibrium make a whole created through a unity of opposites that have equal and inseparable reality. *Nôtan* employed in art and imagery consists in the play and placement of light and dark next to the other, translating shape and form into flat shapes on a two-dimensional surface. Whether Wyczółkowski was familiar with the device of *nôtan*, and followed its principles consciously, or whether he perceived his surroundings with the innocent intuitive eye of an artist receptive to the aesthetic value of black and white contrast, just like folk artists from many cultures have done, is difficult to determine.

From Meisho-e to an Act of Patriotism

Organised tourism on a large scale began in Poland in 1906 with the emergence of the Polish Tourist Society (Polskie Towarzystwo Krajoznawcze, PTK) (Gaj 2008, 35). It was formed in the Russian part of partitioned Poland, but accepted members from the other – Austrian and Prussian partitions too, which made it a de facto Polish national organisation. Its

logo reflected its character as it contained the municipal coats of arms of the three main cities, then one in each of the partitions. The society's *raison d'être* went beyond the expected popularisation of tourism. By promoting and organising direct access to historically and culturally important sites across Poland, it set out to maintain and reinforce a collective sense of national autonomy as a step towards future national independence.¹³³ Its ideology of political defiance encountered opposition from the occupant, but the repressions, especially from the Russian authorities, functioned favourably on the process of strengthening Polish national identity (Wasilewski 2000, 296-297). After 1918, in the resurrected state of Poland, tourism along with popular art history became part of the national educational programme. The bulk of Leon Wyczółkowski's oeuvre, in particular from the interwar period, fitted well with the national agenda of tourism as an act of patriotism.

Though the 2011 exhibition of Wyczółkowski's gift to the Poznań Museum showed all the extant Japanese items once in the artist's possession, it failed to convey in full his familiarity with the ukiyo-e tradition. The museum's collections were decimated by the Nazi occupation during the war and the museum's records from the time of donation are incomplete. Nonetheless, even the surviving examples are sufficient evidence that he collected *meisho-e* prints (depictions of famous sites across Japan).¹³⁴ In addition to his own collection of *meisho-e*, he had ample opportunity to access Jasieński's collection, part of which could be described as a systematic 'catalogue' of *meisho-e*. It included series by Hokusai: The Fifty-Three Stations of the Tōkaidō, Thirty-Six Views of Mt Fuji, Unusual Views of Celebrated Bridges in the Provinces, One Hundred Views of Mt Fuji, A Tour of the Waterfalls of the Provinces, Amusements of the Eastern Capital; by Hiroshige: Fifty-Three Station of the Tōkaidō, Famous Views of the Eastern Capital, One Hundred Famous Views of Edo, One Hundred Views of Famous Places in the Provinces, Flowers of the Seasons with Historical References, Eight Views of Kanagawa; by Utagawa Toyokuni II: Eight Famous Views, and by Utagawa Kuniyoshi: Famous Views of the Eastern Capital, and others. It is

¹³³ The primary aim of PTK was raising national patriotic awareness. This agenda was well reflected in the motto of the society: 'złączymy żelazną obręczą, co rozerwali zaborcy (Kraków, Poznań, Warszawa)' (We shall join with an iron band what had been ripped apart by the occupants (Cracow, Poznań, Warsaw) (Gaj 2008, 53).

¹³⁴ *Meisho-e* originated during the Heian as paintings of famous locations around the Japanese capital of Kyoto at certain characteristic seasons, often showing aristocrats or local people engaged in seasonal or everyday activities. These paintings were appreciated in conjunction with *waka* poetry, which relied heavily on associational references to seasons and famous scenic spots. The paintings inspired poetry, or vice versa, and were often embellished with poems or poetic titles. After the 14th century, the tradition of *meisho-e* spread to other types of painting, especially handscrolls, and exerted a lasting influence on later developments, in particular screens of 'Scenes In and Around the Capital', *rakuchuu rakugai-zu*, and the work of such woodblock print artists as Utagawa Hiroshige and Katsushika Hokusai.

also beyond any doubt that, thanks to Jasieński's knowledge of the subject and his rich library, Wyczółkowski was familiar not only with the works themselves but also aware of what they represented and their underlying conception.

Having abandoned oil painting almost completely around the turn of the century, Wyczółkowski turned to graphic arts. It could be argued that one of the reasons for this turnabout was that the new media allowed him to produce relatively more works within the same period of time, and therefore facilitated the production of numerous series of prints. Indeed, 1907 was the beginning of his prodigious graphic output of portfolios of images that documented famous sites of Poland (fig. 2081-2143, 2145-2149, 2152-2164). This serialised enterprise took up the rest of his life and was still flourishing in the 1930s. In my opinion, Wyczółkowski's graphic portfolios should be regarded as the result of the convergence of the following factors: the Japanese-inspired revival of graphic arts, the example of the Japanese *meisho-e* sub-genre, and the artist's patriotic disposition heightened by the newly regained political independence of Poland. Certain examples of Wyczółkowski's 'meisho-e' predate his involvement with graphic arts (fig. 2132-2133), which began in 1902, but the tendency intensified during the 1910s and gained considerable momentum after 1918.

Chronologically, first was *Lithuanian Portfolio* (1907), and then *Gdańsk Portfolio* (1909), *Hutsul Portfolio* (1910), *Ukrainian Portfolio* (1912), *Wawel Portfolio* (1911/1912), *Cracow Portfolio* (1915), *Old Warsaw Portfolio* (1915), *Reminiscences from Legionów Portfolio* (1916-1919), *Lublin Portfolio* (1919), *Impressions from Białowieża Portfolio* (1922), *Gościeradz Portfolio* (1923/1924), *St Mary's Basilica Portfolio* (1926-1927), *Impressions from Pomerania Portfolio* (1930-1931). Many individual prints including his 'portraits' of trees from the 1930s, mostly lithographs but also ink and pastel paintings, may also be included in this category on the basis of their subjects, which in these cases were instances of national treasures of the natural world. Not all Japanese *meisho-e* came about as the result of actual impressions gathered by artists whilst travelling across the country. Instead, most were imaginary visualisations based on poetry associated with the famous sites. Wyczółkowski personally visited all the famous places he depicted, making detailed sketches of them on site and then reinterpreting them in his studio, invariably on Japanese paper.

Japanese *meisho-e* were proxy not only to the idea of Wyczółkowski's pictures of famous Polish sites, but also, to certain degree, specific themes and formal solutions. We have already seen that some of his depictions of trees (fig. 2053), which he also considered worthy of the status of a nationally important site, mirrored specific Japanese *meisho-e* (fig. 2052). In *Starry Sky* (1930) (fig. 2145), he interpreted Hiroshige's *Fireworks by Ryôgoku Bridge* (fig. 2144) from the *One Hundred Famous Views of Edo*. Japanese-derived artistic schemata also appear occasionally in the group under discussion, but above all it seems to have been the

conception of serialized imagery of historical, poetic and seasonal importance that appealed to Wyczółkowski and was adopted by him as a departure point for his numerous series.

The Vistula as the Polish Tōkaidō

Fifty-Three Stations of the Tōkaidō by Hiroshige seems to have inspired Wyczółkowski to conceive of another much larger portfolio. The idea came to him in 1930, and is described in detail in his memoirs (Twarowska, 1960, 167-169). This time it was to be an emotionally charged homage to the geographical and cultural ‘backbone’ of Poland – the river Vistula (Wisła). Just like the Tōkaidō road, built by Tokugawa Ieyasu as one of the main roads of Japan linking the eastern capital of Edo with the rest of Japan, the Vistula had been the main thoroughfare of Poland. Just like the Tōkaidō linked the two consecutive capitals of Japan: Kyoto and Edo, the Vistula connects the second and third capitals of Poland: Cracow and Warsaw respectively. Both national axes, as it were, developed many important cultural associations and became the subject of emotional artistic interpretations and the stuff of legends.

Wyczółkowski’s project The Vistula Portfolio was only partially realized because of the artist’s death in 1936. The description from his memoirs outlining his intentions as to the details of the series, as well a few finished works meant as a part of it, provide enough material to classify this unfinished series as another manifestation of Wyczółkowski’s Japonisme. It was to be the largest (five-part) of his series. It would have cover the entire length of the river from its spring to its estuary (1047 km), in which fragments of the often meandering river would be captured from high vantage points and visible in the distance, while the foreground was meant to be reserved for views of cities, towns, forests and other sights. This is how he intended it:

The Vistula Portfolio: Cracow – Sandomierz, Sandomierz – Warsaw, Warsaw – Toruń, Toruń – Gdańsk. Cities and towns along its banks, fields, forests, market squares, mid-days and evenings, moonlit nights, in good and bad weather, in fog and mist, the entire river, from its spring to its estuary, just like Impressions from *Białowieża Portfolio*, not only the trees, though, but a variety of things. It will be even more varied. I am going by ship and motorboat to collect motifs to be later interpreted. It is only when one becomes old that one comes up with the things he should have been doing all along. The Vistula as a Japanese panorama: houses, forests, mountains, valleys, more than ten-meter long a view. (...) If I were younger, I would found a brotherhood of graphic artists, painters and researchers and sent them across the country to sightsee, draw and paint the beauty of Poland. (Twarowska, 1960, 169)

Already in 1920, he made several watercolour paintings featuring the Vistula in a manner clearly inspired by ukiyo-e. *The Vistula and a Fluttering Flag* (fig. 2148) and *The Vistula from Bielany* (fig. 2155) illustrate well his appropriation of Japan for the monumental series. In the former of these two, as well as *The Vistula – A Sketch* (fig. 2149), Wyczółkowski created sense of great depth and distance by means of the Japanese pictorial device, whereby an object is placed in the very foreground of the picture, almost obstructing the distant view in the background (fig. 2150-2151). His self-portraits against panoramic views of the Vistula, painted in 1930, express his emotional attitude towards the river and what it represents for the Polish nation, but here too the impression of depth was conveyed with Japanese-derived methods (fig. 2152-2153).

Asian Stimuli for a Nationalistic Construct: Japanese and Javanese Ingredients of Polish National Style in Design 1901-1939

The formation of Polish national style in design during the first three decades of the 20th century depended predominantly on Polish indigenous sources derived from folk and courtly culture (Huml 1973, 78; Chmielewska 2006, 192). This, in any case, is the conviction maintained by Polish historiography. I argue that certain Asian contributory strands, largely unacknowledged, proved vital and meaningful for the construct in question.

Japanese inspirations were important for the budding Polish design first in the production of Polish Applied Arts Society and subsequently in the Cracow Workshops. Besides first-hand exposure to Japanese material culture on Polish soil, Polish designers absorbed it also indirectly via Western Europe, and in particular from Wiener Werkstätte. For this reason, Viennese Workshops feature strongly as an intermediary link between Japan and Polish design. Based on the ubiquity of non-indigenous Asian elements in the Polish national design style – a strictly nationalistic ideology, the issue of the constructedness and the relativity of the concept of national style should be addressed. In this respect, the essence of the Polish national style in design emphasized its pluralistic and process-related character, rather than the predictable exclusive reliance on indigeneity. As David Crowley put it, ‘designers looked to the vernacular as inspirational rather than illustrational’ (1992, 64).

Polish Applied Arts Society was founded in 1901 by Cracow artists, who first and foremost were painters. The majority of them studied or taught at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts, where Modernism, and with it Japonisme were at the forefront of education. The Society

may be regarded as the very inception of Polish applied arts as a domain on a par with fine art. Just as Polish pictorial arts were fundamentally infused with East Asian aesthetics, so was the fledgling Polish design.

Stanisław Wyspiański – one of the society's founding members – was reluctant to admit his debt to Japan for fear of charges of faddism, but also because admitting recourse to foreign models would have been at odds with the contemporary emphasis on Polishness in art and design.¹³⁵ One must note that at that time Poland was still absent from the political map of Europe, and to many Poles launching a purely Polish style was a prerequisite for national independence. This view was supported even by such fervent admirers and collectors of Japanese art as Feliks Jasiński. In spite of Wyspiański's vehement denial, his pictorial arts, as well as his designs for monumental murals, stained glass windows, theatre stage and costume design, clearly absorbed aspects of East Asian aesthetics (fig. 153-181, 2165, 2169, 2182-2184). Among examples of his unarticulated borrowings are the costume designs for his play *Bolesław the Bold*, which are reminiscent of the Japanese samurai armour (fig. 176).

A similar absence of acknowledgement of Japanese inspirations was typical of other designers within the society, though their designs tell a different story. Bronisława Rychter-Janowska's decorative applications, mostly embroideries on felt, emulated the planar quality of ukiyo-e, and often assumed the exact formats of Japanese kakemono (fig. 2172). Karol Tichy's tapestries featured highly decorative bold forms frequently evocative of the Japanese chrysanthemum and the fish-scale pattern, as well as the Chinese-derived wave pattern, but his consistent use of symmetry seems to have been a conscious resolve to disguise his East Asian leanings (fig. 2167-2168). Tichy's furniture designs (fig. 2170-2171), devoid of lavish ornamentation and employing rudimentary geometrical forms, reveal parallels with those by Josef Hoffmann of the Wiener Werkstätte, whose working process depended greatly on Japanese prototypes. The sole subtle decorative motif in Tichy's furniture is the unmistakably Japanese ishidatami pattern, which the artist reduced to a single register of black and white squares.

In the domain of the graphic art by the members of Polish Applied Arts Society, the denial of the debt to Japan was less pronounced. In fact, numerous literal quotations of East Asian culture present in their poster designs, for example, attest to a relative freedom of cultural allegiance (fig. 2185). Considering the nature of this art form, wherein painting often became a component of the total design scheme, the inclusion of Japanese and Chinese motifs, themes and structural conventions appears to have been the result of what was taught at

¹³⁵ See Wyspiański's quote on page 82.

Cracow Academy of Fine Arts. Wojciech Jastrzębowski, who was a pivotal figure at Cracow Workshops, would later reminisce about his education at the Cracow Academy:

As the students of this Academy, part of our education was being attuned to observing the world of nature, we drew plants, flowers, beetles, butterflies and trees under the influence of Wyspiański's art and the Japanese woodblock. (Jastrzębowski 1952, 92)

Much of the early 20th century Polish stained glass design followed a similar path. Karol Homolacs's work, for instance, featured both Japanese-inspired standardized visual schemes, as well as non-representative compositions (fig.2173-2181). The latter, however, also tended to rely on Japanese sources, such as katagami, kakemono formats, and the use of geometrical elements reminiscent of the Japanese mon, as for example, the Tokugawa's clan crest. The birth of Polish studio ceramics took place largely outside Polish Applied Arts Society and Cracow Workshops, but the potters who were responsible for these early developments drew deep sustenance from Japanese design. Japanese-inspired wares by Stanisław Jagmin (fig. 2191-2194) and Tadeusz Rychter (fig. 2195) illustrate well this form of Japonisme.

The Cracow Museum of Science & Industry performed an important function in the history of Polish design. It entered into a successful partnership with Cracow Workshops in 1913, but even prior to that it housed the book-binding studio led by Bonawentura Lenart. His paper designs (fig. 2200-2208) have been associated by design historians with the Turkish paper-marbling technique known as ebru. Far from refuting this link, Lenart's designs also strongly indicate Japan as the source of inspiration. The Japanese equivalent known as the suminagashi or ink-floating technique dates back to Heian Period backgrounds for calligraphy. While similar approaches to paper decoration were developed in various cultures throughout history, there appears to be a good reason to argue that Lenart looked to Japan via Vienna for models to emulate. It has been established that in the 1880s Vienna experienced a revival of interest in Japanese dipped paper. By the early 20th century Viennese Secessionists, including Koloman Moser, had amassed impressive collections of it. Even the Viennese Workshops boasted a major assemblage. Up to 1918 Cracow's political identity was closely intertwined with Vienna, both cities being within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Although after 1918 this political connection was severed, the cultural interchange between the two remained very much alive during the interbellum. Lenart, as many other Cracow Workshops designers, based much of his repertoire on Viennese Workshops, being familiar with both its collections and exhibitions such as the 1903 'Bookbinding and Fly-leaf Paper' show featuring Japanese prototypes. Despite the resemblance to Turkish designs, and even Lenart's

occasional mention of Turkish models, his preference for this technique must have been triggered by the Japanese-inspired fashion for *suminagashi* in Vienna.

From around 1901, Viennese Workshops designers developed the practice of simplifying their signatures. In this respect Japan was proxy not only to their form but also to the idea itself. Following Japanese examples, they began to substitute the conventional signatures for shortened monograms whose form allowed for a degree of abstraction and a greater decorative planar value. Their monograms, published emphatically in 1905, have been likened to the censorship stamps on Japanese woodcuts, whereas the trade mark of the entire community of artists is reminiscent of the Japanese *mon*, the logo-like ornamental family crests. This practice was also adopted by Cracow Workshops from the outset in 1913 (fig. 2209-2213) (Dzedzic 2009, 410-415). It's logo, however, seems to allude to yet a different category of Japanese inscriptions, namely the kanji for *yama* that is 'mountain', which in the Polish version evolved from the crown present in the Cracow's municipal emblem. Certain Cracow Workshops monograms also incorporated other symbols that may have been borrowed from Japan, such as the iris flower and the spiral motif.

A clear transition from the naturalistic treatment of objects and the Art Nouveau sinuous linearity into representation in planar-geometric forms took place at Viennese Workshops around 1900. This geometrisation of design was also aided by Japanese examples. Josef Hoffmann from now on directed the attention of his students at the *Kunstgewerbeschule* to such tools of surface decoration as discs, squares, triangles and other geometric shapes. This focus soon crystallised into a veritable fixation with rectilinearity observed in abundance in the works by Charles Rennie Mackintosh and the Scottish 'Group of Four', as well as the diverse Japanese decorative repertoire provided in Vienna by Japanese pattern books, textiles and *katagami*. But it was Koloman Moser, who around 1902 turned the 'chessboard' pattern, modeled on the Japanese *ishidatamimon* (the paving-stone pattern), into the definitive hallmark of the entire group.

The Viennese checkerboard motif derived from Japanese art (Fahr-Becker 2008, 16-18) had become so ubiquitous in all branches of Viennese Workshops design that appropriating it by Polish artists without significant alteration would have been dismissed as crude imitation. For this reason, the furniture designs by Karol Tichy featured a reduced, subtle mutation of the motif. A wholesale adoption of the Viennese checkerboard motif would have been even more of a simulacrum to the Cracow Workshops designers, who aimed at distinctive originality and vernacularism in their designs. For this reason, the *ishidatamimon* was rare in Cracow Workshops design (fig. 2214-2215). Instead, its designers opted for the motif of the square itself, frequently used in multiplicity to create a sense of rhythm (fig.

2219-2221). Its application in furniture design was more evocative of the Japanese than of Viennese precedents.

Another prominent Japanese-derived geometrical element in the Viennese Workshops repertoire was the triangle (fig. 2224, 2226-2228), but it should be stressed that it did not reach the same level of popularity as the square did. It seems that it appeared less representative of the Viennese Workshops than the square and was therefore appropriated into the aesthetic system of Cracow Workshops, soon becoming its distinguishing feature. Alongside the square, it was incorporated into Karol Homolacs' theoretical system devised as a set of guidelines for Cracow Workshops' designers (fig. 2222). It was systematically disseminated through textbooks, which assured its future dominance as the most recognizable trait of the Polish national style. Being indirectly borrowed from Japan, via Viennese Workshops, it was simultaneously perceived as a rudimentary decorative building block underlying Polish folk art. This ambiguity of origin allowed for launching the triangle as a quintessentially Polish endemic feature.

The consistent application of the triangle to all branches of design from textile to architecture is evident from around 1918, but it was the 1925 International Exposition of Modern Industrial and Decorative Arts in Paris, where this ornamental programme was most pronounced. However, the overall impression of the critically acclaimed Polish Pavilion, both its exterior and interior, was far from Japanese or Viennese for that matter (fig. 2229-2238). Strict symmetry and almost exclusive reliance on the triangle used with an overwhelming multiplicity set it clearly apart from foreign prototypes. In this case, Japan provided the idea which was developed into a new aesthetic vision, rather than offered a ready-made system to imitate.

Polish Japonisme in design is also discernible in the Cracow Workshops' production of Javanese-inspired batik production (fig. 2214-2218). It is important to stress that whereas the Japanese strand in early Polish design was stimulated by exposure to a wealth of Japanese visual culture available both in Poland and Western Europe, especially Paris and Vienna, the Javanese stimulus came almost exclusively from Javanese craft objects brought to Poland from Java by Polish collectors. Among them, the most prominent figures were Jarosław Waszak, Marcin Raciborski and Michał Siedlecki. Feliks Jasieński, who made his name as the creator of one of Europe's largest collections of Japanese art, never travelled to Asia, but his interests as a collector also included Javanese crafts. Not only did he collect Javanese batiks but was also a staunch supporter of transplanting this manual wax-resist dyeing technique into Polish design. The batik is a folk art form known to many cultures, including Indonesia, Malaysia, Japan, China, Azerbaijan, India, Sri Lanka, Egypt, Nigeria, Senegal and Singapore, but it is Java, where it assumed the status of definitive national craft. It must be pointed out,

however, that its Javaneseness was a relative concept, as due to the influx of the Chinese, by the late 19th century, Javanese batiks had absorbed a range of Chinese representative and non-representative motifs.

Indeed, this technique was extremely enthusiastically endorsed by Cracow Workshops designers due to the preexisting Polish folk tradition of decorating Easter eggs with an identical wax-resist dyeing approach. The batik workshop was set up by Antoni Buszek, who modeled it on the Parisian precedent of Paul Poiret's textile studio (Wrońska-Friend 2008, 143). Just like Poiret, if in a more systematic manner, Buszek employed untrained teenage girls with a view to capitalizing on their incipient aesthetic sense. His enterprise proved to be very successful as throughout the history of Cracow Workshops the batik studio was to be the most thriving and applauded at home and abroad, eventually being awarded the largest number of prizes of all participants at the 1925 International Exposition of Modern Industrial and Decorative Arts.

The batiks made at Cracow Workshops between 1913 and 1925 should be collectively regarded as a craft-making phenomenon that reached a high level of success in the European context, and alongside its Dutch counterpart, it may be classified among the most compelling manifestations of European Javanism. Not unlike Javanese batiks themselves, the Polish variations often perpetuated East Asian elements in their designs. Batiks by Wojciech Jastrzębowski and the Kogut sisters incorporated the Japanese *ishidatami* pattern and the Chinese-derived wave motif, as well as the Chinese blue-and-white colour scheme.

But it was the merging of Javanese and vernacular Polish compositional aspects and decorative motifs that provided the basis for the birth of what Maria Wrońska-Friend has termed the Javanese-Cracow style. This development helped assure the durability of this art form and its enormous popularity in Poland. Cracow Workshops main theoretician Karol Homolacs and the directors of the batik studio recommended Javanese batiks as a point of departure for the design process (Homolacs 1920, 241). Although the approach depended predominantly on spontaneous creativity and the imagination of the young mostly female designers, the reliance on both native Polish and Javanese art forms is clearly discernible. The most striking Javanese inspiration manifested itself in the overall compositional layouts, wherein a distinction between the first-plan larger motifs is accompanied by areas filled with minute decorative details such as flowers, buds, tendrils, leaves, dots, waves and hooks. Although such a repertoire is typical of many other artistic traditions across the world, including Polish folk art, a closer analysis of Cracow batiks decisively confirms the Javanese origin of the ensemble. Their spatial division was also governed by ideas borrowed from Javanese batiks. For example, batik-dyed silk scarves employed the *sindangan* motif of an

elongated rhomboid, which in Java symbolizes sexual maturity and therefore is associated with married women, often adorning their attire. On the other hand, these scarves were reminiscent on many levels of one of the most distinctive items of dress of Polish and Lithuanian nobility the kontusz sashes. In many examples of Cracow batiks one observes a conscious allusion to central Javanese colour schemes, mainly the combination of browns and blues, stemming from the use of natural pigments. The choice of hues was therefore in equal measure dictated by Javanese inspiration and practical consideration, as Cracow batiks also employed exclusively natural dyes. The application of the batik dyeing technique was also extended to the decoration of three-dimensional objects at Cracow Workshops. These included vases, boxes, toys and furniture.

Having mapped out the types of Cracow Workshops' recourse to Japanese and Javanese precedents, it is important to ponder the issue of foreignness, in this case Asian, within this otherwise strictly nationalistic ideology of Polish national style in design. The appropriation of non-native aspects for such a construct strikes at once as a glaring inconsistency. It begs to ask how Cracow Workshops' theoreticians and directors accounted for the discrepancy between the autochthonous objectives laid out in their manifesto and the cultural hybridity of their practice. To provide a succinct answer, one might conclude that any such justification was eluded. Indeed any attempt to do so would have been anathema to their patriotic mission. The only recorded formal statement admitting recourse to Japan is Wojciech Jastrzębowski's cursory mention in his lecture on the genesis of Cracow Workshops. But even these words cannot be read as a clear acknowledgement for two reasons. Firstly, they were uttered almost four decades after the inception of Cracow Workshops, and secondly, Jastrzębowski was referring to the reliance on Japanese art at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts as Cracow Workshops, their predecessor, rather than the Workshops themselves. Considering that the concept of Polish national style in design was not at the forefront of the Academy's agenda, and began to assert itself firmly with the formation of Cracow Workshops, Jastrzębowski's indirect recognition of the debt to Japan was acceptable.

Although not officially associated with Cracow Workshops, Jasieński had advocated Japaneseness as the main basis for the formation of Polish national style. He even proposed restructuring Polish social mores according to Japanese models. Nonetheless, he had no impact on Cracow Workshops' policy making. The Javanese presence within the construct in question enjoyed a relatively greater degree of acknowledgement, but even in this respect, the large corpus of theoretical writings by Cracow Workshops designers lacks any explicit mention of Javanese participation in the formation of Polish national style. On the whole, we are confronted with ubiquitous legible quotations of Asian culture on the one hand, and a

conspicuous absence of admittance of them on the other. The only conceivable plausible interpretation of this dichotomy is provided by the contemporary socio-historical circumstances in Poland. The newly reborn statehood demanded an exclusive focus on indigenous values alongside a unilateral rejection of foreignness as the ingredients of the fledgling national style. By no means was this artificial construct rooted exclusively in vernacular Polishness, rather, it was characterized by an eclecticism incorporating also Asian elements.

Conclusions

This study charts the development of Japonisme in Polish pictorial arts between 1885 and 1939 and it does so for the first time with such detail and scope. We have seen how appropriation from Japanese sources, direct and indirect, in the latter case invariably via Western European Japonisme, triggered the articulation of new visual and conceptual languages which helped forge new art and educational paradigms that would define the modern age. The Polish strand of Japonisme shared many characteristics with its counterparts in Europe and America. In many ways, it actually stemmed from earlier foreign Japonisme, particularly that of Paris. The thesis shows how in the initial phase Polish attitudes towards Japan and its art oscillated between enthusiasm and derision, and how, initially, it was the Japonisme of such artists as Gauguin and Whistler that was adopted by Polish artists, consequently performing a mediatory function in the dissemination of the taste for Japanese art. By no means, though, were these early manifestations of Polish Japonisme purely derivative, or characterised by hackneyed artistic expressions and ideas. One of the main reasons for that, on the whole, was that it was distinguished and accomplished artists, who introduced and continued to maintain Japonisme in Poland: Boznańska, Stanisławski, Fałat, Ślewiński, Ruszczyc, Weiss and Wyczółkowski.

The distinguishing features of Polish Japonisme came to the fore during its second phase. Feliks Jasiński's pro-Japonisme campaign displayed national ambitions, whereby Japan was construed as an exemplary model for the Poles to emulate, not only in matters of art and culture, but also in the realm of social mores, and even the worldview. The thesis also examines the significance of the Russo-Japanese war for the development of Japonisme in Poland, a factor that set it apart from Japonisme in other European countries as well as in America.

This thesis expands the current body of knowledge of Japonisme in Polish art. Building upon an existing corpus of knowledge, outlined in the literature review (Chapter 1), the thesis, for the first time, provides a comprehensive perspective of the history and nature of Japanese inspirations and appropriations in Polish pictorial arts between 1885 and 1939. It not only constructs a coherent chronological narrative, but also contains the first attempt at compiling the historiography of Polish Japonisme, providing the overview of the history of the study of the phenomenon from the late nineteenth century to the present.

By collating a very wide array of diverse material and connecting it to Japonisme, the thesis presents a new body of knowledge. Among the corpus of the artworks brought together there are numerous previously unpublished art pieces, as well as those that had never been

connected to the trend of Japonisme before. Consequently, finding evidence of Japanese inspirations in the oeuvres of artists earlier unacknowledged for their Japanese leanings expands the field of study of Polish Japonisme, associating for the first time around 130 names with the trend.¹³⁶

Although not all these artists can be regarded as devout Japonistes as much as artists who made recourse to Japanese art and aesthetics only occasionally or even sporadically, the research has uncovered a number of oeuvres that reveal plentiful, explicit and profound appropriations from Japan. In this context, the names of the following artists should be enumerated: Władysław Bielecki, Wiktoria Goryńska, Teodor Grott, Józef Hecht, Feliks Jasiński, Roman Kochanowski, Wanda Komorowska, Janina Konarska, Jacek Malczewski, Rafał Malczewski, Andrzej Jerzy Mniszech, Władysław Skoczylas, Kazimierz Stabrowski, Zofia Stankiewicz, Włodzimierz Terlikowski, Stanisław Witkiewicz, Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz, Jan Wojnarski, and Eugeniusz Zak. In certain cases the evidence of Japanese inspirations was so copious that it would allow mounting entire exhibitions of the Japonisme of individual artists, prominent examples being Bielecki, Hecht, Jasiński, Terlikowski, S.I. Witkiewicz, and Zak.

¹³⁶ Zofia Albinowska-Minkiewicz, Teodor Axentowicz, Kira Banasińska, Włodzimierz Bartoszewicz, Wacław Bębnowski, Bolesław Biegas, Władysław Bielecki, Konstanty Brandel, Franciszek Bruzdowicz, Jan Bukowski, Władysław Czachórski, Wilhelm Henryk Czarnecki, Erwin Czerwenka, Stefania Daniel-Kossowska, Eugeniusz Dąbrowa-Dąbrowski, Eugeniusz Eibisch, Stanisław Ejsmond, Jan Ekiert, Stanisław Ignacy Fabijański, Mieczysław Filipkiewicz, Stanisław Filipkiewicz, Maria Fromowicz-Nassau, Zdzisław Gedliczka, Maria Giźbert, Leopold Gottlieb, Maurycy Gottlieb, Teodor Grott, Kazimierz Grus, Jan Kanty Gumowski, Alicja Halicka, Józef Hecht, Karol Homolacs, Leon Indenbaum, Błażej Iwanowski, Władysław Jahl, Władysław Jarocki, Maria Jaroszyńska-Raczyńska, Franciszek Jaźwiecki, Antoni Kamieński, Raymund Kanelbaum, Apoloniusz Kędzierski, Moïse Kisling, Stanisław Klimowski, Ignacy Klukowski, Roman Kochanowski, Wanda Komorowska, Janina Konarska, Włodzimierz Konieczny, Bronisław Kowalewski, Antoni Kozakiewicz, Roman Kramsztyk, Konrad Krzyżanowski, Ilka Kuczyńska-Fessler, Włodzimierz Kugler, Stefan Marian Kulesza, Karol Larisch, Kazimierz Lasocki, Aleskander Laszenko, Bonawentura Lenart, Stanisław Lentz, Jerzy Leski, Ludwik Lisowski, Małgorzata Łada-Maciągowa, Kazimierz Łotocki, Władysław Majewski, Jacek Malczewski, Rafał Malczewski, Jadwiga Malinowska-Gałęzowska, Efraim Mandelbaum, Maria Marevna, Artur Markowicz, Zygmunt Menkes, Jerzy Merkel, Klemenyna Mien, Adolf Milich, Irena Mińska-Golińska, Andrzej Jerzy Mniszech, Karol Mondral, Simon Mondzian, Mela Muter, Artur Nacht-Samborski, Maciej Nehring, Maria Niedzielska, Robert Okołowicz, Marian Olszewski, Stanisław Osostowicz, Fryderyk Pautsch, Florian Piekarski, Robert Piekelný, Ignacy Pieńkowski, Stanisław Podgórski, Władysław Podkowiński, Antoni Procajłowicz, Zbigniew Pronaszko, Józef Puacz, Marian Puffke, Mieczysław Rakowski, Jan Rosen, Jan Rubczak, Bronisława Rychter-Janowska, Stanisław Rzecki-Szreniawa, Witold Rzegociński, Bruno Schulz, Jan Skotnicki, Paweł Steller, Stanisław Straszkievicz, Zofia Stryjeńska, Karol Stryjeński, Wacław Szymanowski, Włodzimierz Terlikowski, Karol Tichy, Edward Trojanowski, Zygmunt Waliszewski, Władysław Wankie, Tadeusz Waśkowski, Maraiian Wawrzeniecki, Max Weber, Jerzy Edward Winiarz, Irena Weiss, Stanisław Witkiewicz, Konrad Winkler, Romuald Kamil Witkowski, Józef Wodziński, Jan Wojnarski, Feliks Michał Wygrzywalski, Wilhelm Wyrwiński, Wacław Zaboklicki, Eugeniusz Zak, Jan Wacław Zawadowski, Jakub Zucker, Franciszek Zygart, Kacper Żelichowski, and Franciszek Żmurko.

Besides connecting new artists to the field of Japonisme, the research completed explored the output of artists already firmly positioned within the trend. By investigating the oeuvres of such established Japonistes as Julian Fałat, Leon Wyczółkowski, Wojciech Weiss, Adam Bunsch, Karol Frycz, Józef Pankiewicz, Władysław Ślewiński, Ferdynand Ruszczyc, Kazimierz Sichulski, Witold Wojtkiewicz, and Olga Boznańska, the thesis indicated new aspects of Japanese inspirations in the oeuvres of these artists.

This research also introduces a number of unusual, if not unique, types of Japanese inspirations. Many of these types, rare both in the Polish and Euro-American contexts, were identified and analysed for the first time here. Within this category, the following types of inspirations deserve a mention:

1. Kanô School inspired portrait of Stanisław Witkiewicz by Kazimierz Sichulski (fig. 26)
2. Life-size portraits of onnagata (male actors in female roles) and Kabuki actors in samurai roles by Andrzej Jerzy Mniszech (fig. 27, 28)
3. A depiction of the fukidama (bubble-blowing ritual) in a Japanese cemetery by Julian Fałat (fig. 39)
4. Numerous adaptations of the Japanese design concept of nôtan in paintings and prints by Julian Fałat, Leon Wyczółkowski and Wojciech Weiss
5. Rimpa-inspired painting of a fisherman by Eugeniusz Zak (fig. 1368)
6. The inclusion of elements of Japanese architecture into otherwise western landscapes by Wojciech Weiss (fig. 703, 704, 706-708, 710, 711)
7. A transposition of the Japanese pictorial convention of humans flying atop birds and other animals in a caricature by Kazimierz Sichulski (fig. 305)
8. The adoption of the bokashi technique of woodblock colour gradation in Karol Frycz's painting *Wawel à la japonaise according to Feliks Manggha Jasieński* (fig. 482)
9. The borrowing, by Polish representatives of École de Paris, of Tsuguharu Foujita's painterly trademark: the ivory-like white of the canvas backgrounds and human flesh (fig. 1475-1494, 1510-1554)
10. Józef Hecht's Japanese-style bestiary (fig. 1558-1624)
11. 'Floating heads' portraits by Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz's echoing ukiyo-e ghost imagery (fig. 2010-2024)
12. Gustaw Gwozdecki's self-portrait stylized on a Japanese ichimatsu-ningyô doll as an act of self-identification with Japan and its culture (fig. 1396)

13. Władysław Bielecki's prints depicting the interiors of barns based on the vanishing-point perspective observed in ukiyo-e uki-e representations of Kabuki theatre (fig. 1967, 1968)
14. Serialised topographical imagery by Leon Wyczółkowski inspired by parallel Japanese precedents, namely the genre of meisho-e (fig. 2081-2143)
15. Leon Wyczółkowski's unfinished sequential depiction of the historic backbone of Poland entitled *The Vistula Portfolio* prompted by and stylistically reminiscent of *The Fifty-Three Stations of the Tôkaidô* by Hiroshige (fig. 2148, 2149, 2152-2162)

The existence of these autochthonous types of Japanese inspirations in Polish art supports the argument that Polish Japonisme developed not only from the reliance on earlier Western European precedents but also in an autonomous, creatively independent manner.

With regards to previously acknowledged and explicated examples of Japonisme in Polish art, this research also contributes to knowledge by offering alternative interpretations of certain works of art. Thus in the light of this research, Józef Mehoffer's *Europa jubilans* (fig. 485) is regarded as a critique of tendentiousness in art, the indiscriminate following of the Japanese craze, and the vulgarization of the taste for Japanese art; Ferdynand Ruszczyc's *Nec mergitur* (fig. 672) is interpreted as a vision of the much awaited independence of Poland and as inspired by *The Great Wave off Kanagawa* (fig. 672) by Katsushika Hokusai; Wojciech Weiss's poster *Sztuka – 10th Exhibition* (fig. 1187) is explained as inspired by late nineteenth century imagery fabricated by the descendants of the Tai Chi founder Chang-San-Feng; and Gustaw Gwozdecki's self-portrait wherein the sitter is styled as a Japanese ichimatsu-ningyô doll is, for the first time, interpreted an instance of Japonisme.

The objective of creating a comprehensive reference point for further study of Polish Japonisme resulted in more than one level of outcomes. Apart from providing a historiography of this area of scholarship, the thesis maps out the facts pertinent to the history of the phenomenon, including a consideration of the major institutions responsible for the dissemination of the trend in Poland during the period under consideration (notably the role of Cracow Academy of Fine Arts), as well as the descriptions of relevant collections, exhibitions and publications (especially *Chimera* edited by Zenon Przesmycki).

From the beginning of the 20th century, the focus of Japonisme in America, and Britain began to shift towards artistic domains other than pictorial arts. From then on in Western Europe and America, Japanese inspirations are evident in design, architecture and art pedagogy. Though, in Poland, Japonisme continues to thrive in painting and printing arts until the Second World War, the shift to design and art education is also apparent. The thesis examines the role of Cracow Academy of Fine Arts as an important centre for the

dissemination of Japonisme in Poland. In opposition to the art educational establishments run by Arthur Wesley Dow in the USA¹³⁷, but not unlike many European art schools¹³⁸, the Japonisme at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts should be associated with individual enterprises of aficionados of Japanese art, rather than with systematic programmes and policies of educational establishments. However, both Julian Fałat's reorganisation of the Academy and Feliks Manggha Jasieński's Japanese-derived didactic programme directed not only at artistic circles but also at the entire nation are considered here as significant instances of Japonisme in art education.

The thesis also considers at length the impact of politics on the development of Japonisme in Poland, both at the time of the Russo-Japanese War, as well as during the interwar period when Polish-Japanese diplomatic relations were inaugurated. By providing detailed formal analyses of artworks in terms of their use of pictorial devices and compositional techniques originating in Japanese art and aesthetics, the thesis confirms many acknowledged instances of Japonisme, but also, more importantly, connects new, often previously unpublished, material to the field. Furthermore, the expanded material permitted to elucidate the function Japanese art played in the development of certain genres in Polish art, in particular the landscape, still-life, caricature, portraiture, the representation of flora and fauna, as well as the role played by Japan in the early history of Polish graphic arts.

In Western Europe and in the USA, after World War I, Japan tended to continue functioning as an inspirational force, but the focus shifted from pictorial arts to design and architecture. In Poland, however, Japonisme in design manifested itself marginally in comparison with painting and graphic arts. Contrarily to other western countries, Polish Japonisme in painting and the graphic arts intensified during the interbellum. The exploration of the Japonisme of the interwar period (1919-1939), provided in Chapter 4, affords a new and hitherto little discussed perspective on Polish art. The thesis brings together facts relating to the nationalisation of private collections of Japanese art in Cracow and Warsaw, as well as outlines the issues of popularisation of Japanese art and culture triggered by the newly established political, diplomatic and cultural relations between Poland and Japan. In comparison with the previous decades, during the interwar period travel to Japan became a more common means for artists to familiarise themselves with Japanese art and culture.

¹³⁷ The Pratt Institute; Teachers College, University of Columbia, Art Students League of New York, and Dow's private art school in Ipswich, MA.

¹³⁸ British art schools: Oxford Extension School at Reading, Central School of Arts & Crafts in London, Edinburgh School of Art; German art schools: the Bauhaus School in Weimar and the Ittenschule; the Kunstgewerbeschule in Vienna.

Drawing on previous scholarship, the thesis delineates the impact of first-hand contact with Japan on the artistic output by Kazimierz Zieleniewski and Ze'ev Wilhelm Aleksandrowicz. Although Karol Frycz's sojourn in Japan had been previously considered by Lidia Kuchtówna, this research makes the first attempt at examining the impression Frycz's stay in Japan made on his art in general, and his theatre stage design in particular.

The investigation of Japonisme in the painting and graphic arts of the Polish representatives of *École de Paris*, presented in Chapter 4, constitutes another entirely new contribution to knowledge. This part of the thesis has been divided into two sections examining the period before World War I and the interwar period respectively. The former part offers findings regarding the impact of Japanese art on the landscapes by Eugeniusz Zak, Jerzy Merkel, Roman Kramsztyk and Jan Rubczak. Detailed analysis of their landscapes has revealed links with the Japanese convention of *san-sui*, the *yamato-e* style, as well as certain parallels with the *Rimpa* school of art. Another strand of *École de Paris* Japonisme manifested itself in depictions of *ichimatsu-ningyô* dolls by, among others, Gustaw Gwozdecki.

The Japonisme of *École de Paris* in general and its Polish component in particular is a new and little discussed topic, but also, importantly some of the types of the inspirations found therein have never been acknowledged as Japonisme. The ivory-like white of the canvas backgrounds and human flesh appropriated by Foujita from Kitagawa Utamaro's prints is here considered as an instance of Japonisme for the first time, and then the oeuvres of Polish artists from *École de Paris* are screened with the view to finding evidence of further appropriation of the Utamaro/Foujita trademark. It was surprising to find that an array of interpretations of this feature, often very pronounced, were present in the oeuvres of a large proportion of the Polish sector of *École de Paris*. This finding is as important for the field of Polish Japonisme, as it might be for the study of the entirety of the international artistic community of *École de Paris*.

It becomes clear that the Second World War did not put an end to Polish interest in Japan and its art. Post-war manifestations of Japonisme in Polish art surfaced predominantly, besides pictorial arts, in theatre stage design, the art of the poster, and film. The findings of this research with regards to the interwar period, including *École de Paris*, bear significance not only for the history of Polish art, but also for the history of Japonisme as a Euro-American artistic phenomenon. The history of western attitudes towards Japanese art from the mid-19th century to the present followed an irregular trajectory. Its first phase (the 1850s – early 20th century) has been well documented as a period of intense fascination with Japan. The next phase (from the 1920s to roughly the 1964 Tokyo Olympics, however, had never been systematically studied until the 2007- 2010 Arts and Humanities Research Council project *Forgotten Japonisme. The Taste for Japanese Art in Britain and the USA, 1920s-1950s*, led

by the Director of The University of the Arts Research Centre for Transnational Art, Identity and Nation Professor Toshio Watanabe. Its findings are still awaiting publication, but during the course of the project, to which the present author was a contributor, it transpired that, contrarily to the frequently made assumption, Japan continued to inspire western art and design after the First World War. The pre-emptive and tendentious denial of Japonisme during the interwar period, the Second World War and the first two decades of the post-war era was a consequence of the deterioration of political relations between Japan and the West, but it did not necessarily reflect what actually happened during that time with respect to the western taste for Japanese art. The project addressed Japonisme in the Anglo-American orbit, but there are, of course, other cultural dominions, where Japonisme was conditioned by different sets of circumstances.

From the Polish perspective, Japan was perceived at first as a distant and exotic 'Other'. In 1904, due to the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war, it became Poland's political ally against Russia, which proved an important factor for the development of Japonisme in Poland. Polish Modernist fascination with Japan was perpetuated into the interbellum. Despite Japan's alliance with Germany during the Second World War, and the subsequent advent of the Soviet-imposed communist rule, under which Polish relations with Japan were virtually non-existent, a variety of forms of Japonisme continued to surface in post-war Poland. In the climate of twenty-first century globalisation, where cultural and national polarities dissolve, while transnational cross-fertilisation generates new meanings of the 'Other', it appears anachronistic to talk about Japonisme. Nonetheless, following the collapse of the communist regime in Poland in 1989, one observes what could be termed the newest wave of Japonisme. An unprecedented boom in literature on Japan, a major increase in studies on Japan, the arrival of such institutions as the manggha Museum of Japanese Art and Technology in Cracow, and large-scale cultural exchange between Poland and Japan, are all characteristic of the 21st century. In the field of pictorial arts – the main focus of the present thesis – there are Polish artists, who look specifically to Japan for inspiration. Among them are: Grzegorz Moryciński, Małgorzata Flis, Jacek Łoziński, Tomasz Tatarczyk, Zbysław Marek Maciejewski, and others.¹³⁹

The author's intention was to produce a comprehensive view of the subject at hand during the chosen period, but by no means is the result a closed book. There are several areas that beg further investigation. It is important to stress that the examination of Polish Japonisme during the interwar period opens up new avenues in need of future investigation.

¹³⁹ Because these artists are outside of the timeframe of the present thesis, the illustrations of their paintings have not been included in the catalogue of illustrations.

In the course of the research, it transpired that Polish-Japanese relations within École de Paris are a potentially worthwhile field of academic endeavour with regards to Japonisme. Most certainly, the close friendship between Tsuguharu Foujita and Włodzimierz Terlikowski commands scholarly attention. Another artistic relationship, but one that developed outside of École de Paris, that between Pierre Bonnard and Józef Pankiewicz, requires a closer look in order to attempt answering the question if Japanese art and aesthetics had any bearing on the development of Bonnard's Colourism, and the founder of Polish Colourism - Pankiewicz. Among the numerous potential future case studies of individual artists' Japonisme, Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz (Witkacy) affords one of the more interesting, albeit at first glance unlikely, candidates. Prolific and controversial poet, playwright, novelist, painter, photographer and philosopher, Witkacy has been tentatively suggested on a number of occasions as an artist inspired by Japanese art. This research includes nearly thirty artworks by Witkacy that have been found to contain various forms of Japanese inspirations, which looked at collectively would suffice to argue a strong case of the artist's Japonisme. This thesis devoted some space to a consideration of Japonisme in the production of Polish Applied Arts Society and subsequently in the Cracow Workshops between 1901 and 1939; however Polish Japonisme in design still awaits a more thorough analysis.

The thesis, including the ample resource of visual material acts as a broad overview of the impact of Japanese art and aesthetics on Polish pictorial arts between 1885 and 1939, and it offers a comprehensive reference point for future study.

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Japonisme in Polish Pictorial Arts (1885 – 1939)

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Volume 2 – Appendices

I Biographies

Albinowska-Minkiewicz Zofia (1886-1971) – painter, engraver, associated with the Lviv artistic circle, studied in Vienna under Heindrich Strehblow, Franz Hohenberg and Ferdinand Kruis, then in Paris at Académie Colarossi and École des Beaux Arts (1906-1912). In Paris she received instruction from Olga Boznańska. Between 1909 and 1912 she studied at Kunstgewerbeschule in Vienna, and then returned to her native Lviv, where she stayed till her death. During the interwar period she was the President of the Polish Artists Union in Lvov. A. painted portraits and after 1920 also still lifes and flowers.

Aleksandrowicz Ze'ev (1905-1992) – Polish Jewish amateur photographer from Cracow. Received Jewish and Zionist education, but never studied photography formally. In 2003, eleven years after his death, thousands of his rolls of film were discovered in his house. They were all taken with two Leica cameras on 35 mm film. During the last decade a series of exhibitions showed a fraction of his work. He documented his trip to Japan in 1934 in photographs that bring Zen painting to mind.

Augustynowicz Aleksander (1865-1944) – Between 1883 and 1886 studied painting at Cracow School of Fine Arts under Feliks Szynalewski, Władysław Łuszczkiewicz and Jan Matejko. In 1888, he studied at Simon Hollósy's atelier in Munich. In 1890, he settled in Lviv, between 1914 and 1921 lived in Zakopane and then in Poznań. He was a member of the Union of Polish Artists in Lviv and the Polish Water-colourists Club in Warsaw, from 1925 a member of the Society for the Encouragement of Fine Arts in Warsaw. He painted genre paintings, studies of flowers and trees, landscapes and portraits, working mostly in watercolours.

Axentowicz Teodor (1858-1938) – Polish-Armenian painter and art educator. Between 1878 and 1882 studied at Munich Academy of Fine Arts and then until 1895 in Paris. In 1883 married Iza Henrietta Gielgud in London's Chelsea. In 1895, A. was invited by Julian Fałat to a post at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts, where he taught for many years. He was one of the founding members of the Sztuka Society and an honorary member of the *Zachęta* Society in Warsaw. He earned fame painting mainly genre scenes and portraits, especially of women.

Banasińska Kira (1899-2002) – painter, toy maker and educator. Born to a well-to-do Polish family, she grew up in the Urals. At 19 she became an interpreter for the American Red Cross. Having married Dr Eugeniusz Banasiński, she accompanied him on his diplomatic mission to Japan. There she was trained in Japanese art and music, and had several exhibition of her ink paintings on silk in Tokyo. In 1933, the Banasińskis were moved to Bombay, where Kira began producing toys the way she had been taught in Japan. Eventually, she was making educational toys for the International Montessori Association.

Bartoszewicz Włodzimierz (1899-1983) – painter, graphic artist and caricaturist, studied at Warsaw School of Fine Arts under Tadeusz Pruszkowski. He painted religious and historical compositions, as well as still lifes and landscapes.

Bartłomiejczyk Edmund (1885-1950) – graphic artist and art educator, studied at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Jan Stanisławski and Wojciech Weiss (1906-1909), and then at

Warsaw School of Fine Arts (1910-1913). He taught at the department of architecture at the Warsaw Polytechnic (1917-1930), and at Warsaw School of Fine Arts (1917-1950), where he led the department of applied graphic arts. His main media were woodblock and lithography.

Bębnowski Wacław (1865-1945) – Potter. First, he studied at The School of Painting and Sculpture in Moscow, and having moved to Cracow in 1880, began studies at Cracow School of Fine Arts under Jan Matejko. In 1898, he moved to Warsaw, where he exhibited at the *Zachęta* gallery. In 1905, he moved to Aleksandrów Kujawski in Kujavia, where he spent the rest of his life and continued to produce pottery.

Biegas Bolesław (1877-1954) – He was surrealist painter and sculptor, best known for his ‘vampire-as-femme fatale’ style of painting. Biegas studied art under Konstanty Laszczka Cracow Academy of Fine Arts. He settled in Paris where he exhibited bizarre sculptures which were highly successful in the opening years of the 20th century. They were often busts with philosophical or esoteric titles.

The sculptor's techniques were very modern for the time. He created naturalistic and symbolic compositions, religious and other portraits as well as genre scenes. In his paintings one discerns the influence of Symbolism, Gustav Moreau and Böcklin. In addition to painting and sculpture, he also created works of literature. His work can be seen, among others the National Museum in Warsaw, Cracow and Poznań.

Bielecki Władysław (1896-1943) – Woodcutter, painter and teacher, remained under the influence of Japanese woodcuts and the Cracow school of landscape. He studied at the Munich Academy, permanently lived in Cracow. He made woodcuts and linocuts in colour, whose subjects were mostly landscape and architecture. In 1940 he signed a list of German nationality, and for that was shot in 1943 at the national Army (AK) sentence.

Bilińska-Bohdanowicz Anna (1857-1893) – A doctor's daughter, she spent her childhood in the Ukraine, and then in the Siberian town of Vyatka, where she took drawing lessons from Michał Elwiro Andriolli, exiled by the Russian authorities. After moving to Warsaw, she enrolled in a music conservatory. In 1878, she joined Wojciech Gerson's Drawing Class. Gerson soon recognised her talent. In his atelier, she became friends with Maria Gażycz, Aniela Wisłocka, and Zofia Stankiewicz. In 1882, she went on a sightseeing tour to Vienna, Munich, Salzburg, Padua, and Venice. In 1882, she joined the class for women at Académie Julian in Paris. In 1884, appreciating her talent, Rodolphe Julian exempted her from tuition. The same year, her father died, which left her destitute. The next year her fiancé the painter Wojciech Grabowski also died. She went through a breakdown; to salvage her health, she travelled to the seaside in Normandy and Brittany, where she made sketches and paintings, mostly landscapes. In 1886, she rented an atelier in Paris, and Julian appointed her supervisor of one of the academic studios. In 1890, she moved to Berlin for a short time to paint the portrait of the pianist Józef Hofmann, commissioned by the American patron of arts, Corning Clark. In 1882, she married Antoni Bohdanowicz and moved to Warsaw, where she intended to set up an art school for women. Her plan never materialised and she died a premature death. She made her debut at the Paris salon of 1884, and then received a Silver Medal at the Exposition Universelle in Paris in 1887, thereafter taking part regularly in collective exhibitions. She was a spectacular success in Paris and London, where her works were on display at the Royal Academy of Art (1889) and at the Grosvenor Gallery. She painted mostly portraits in pastels and oils, but also genre scenes and landscapes.

Blocki Włodzimierz (1885-1921) – From 1904 to 1910, he studied at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under the direction of Leon Wyczółkowski, Florian Cynk, Konstanty Laszczka and Józef Pankiewicz. 1911, he lived in Lviv, from where he went to Italy, together with Grott. They visited Florence, Rome, Naples, and Sicily. The two artists published a joined portfolio of etchings with views of Florence (1911). In 1914, Blocki spend some time in Paris, a brief spell in Munich. He painted mostly landscapes and portraits, genre scenes, and also symbolic compositions, inspired by the work of Edvard Munch and other Scandinavian painters active in the late 19th century. Erotic themes were also present in his work (series of etchings *Erotica*). His landscapes show the influence of the Impressionists and Jan Stanisławski, although he was never a student of the latter. Around 1910, he painted some works inspired by Japanese art. As a printmaker, he made etchings, aquatints, and lithographs.

Boym Michał Piotr (1612-1659) – He was a Polish scientist, explorer and a Jesuit missionary to China. He is notable as one of the first westerners to travel within the Chinese mainland, and the author of numerous works on Asian fauna, flora and geography. In 1631, Boym joined the Jesuits, and was ordained a priest. In 1643, after almost a decade of intensive studies in the monasteries of Cracow, Kalisz, Jarosław and Sandomierz, Boym embarked on a voyage to Eastern Asia. He first travelled to Rome, where he obtained a blessing for his mission from Pope Urban VIII, and then proceeded to Lisbon. Later that year he embarked with a group of nine other priests and clerics on a voyage to Portuguese Goa, and then Macau. Initially he taught at St. Paul Jesuit College (Macau). He then moved to the island of Hainan, where he opened a small Catholic mission. After the island had been conquered by the Manchus, Boym had to flee to Tonkin in 1647. He is best remembered for his works describing the flora, fauna, history, traditions and customs of the countries he travelled through. During his first trip to China he wrote a short work on the plants and animals dwelling in Mozambique. The work was later sent to Rome, but was never printed. During his return trip he prepared a large collection of maps of mainland China and South-East Asia. He planned to expand it to nine chapters describing China, its customs and political system, as well as Chinese science and inventions. The merit of Boym's maps was that they were the first European maps to properly represent Korea as a peninsula rather than an island. They also took notice of the correct positions of many Chinese cities previously unknown to the westerners or known only by the semi-fabulous descriptions of Marco Polo. Boym also marked the Great Wall and the Gobi Desert. Although the collection was not published during Boym's lifetime, it extended the knowledge of China in the west.

Boznańska Olga (1865-1940) – In early 1883, she began to learn drawing from the well-known and celebrated painter Kazimierz Pochwański. From 1886 to 1889 she studied in Munich, at the private atelier of Karl Kircheldorf, a proponent of bourgeois realism, and then at Wilhelm Dürr's studio. Her painting was inspired by the work of the Symbolists, in particular James Abbott McNeill Whistler, and also Wilhelm Leib and Édouard Manet, as well as Japanese art. She perfected her skills studying and copying the works of all masters exhibited at Munich's Pinakothek and Velázquez's paintings in Viennese museums. She soon became entirely independent and rented a studio of her own. In 1895, she replaced Hummel as head of his Painting School in Munich, and in 1896, she turned down the offer to take over the Chair of Painting at the women's department formed by Julian Fałat at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts. She considered her Munich period to be the most important in her career. It was there that she developed her individual palette, subsequently only slightly extended to include

new colours. She gladly used a monochromatic scale: greys, browns and blacks; greens, browns and blacks; or whites, pinks and blacks. She created her own recognizable style, which she continued to perfect her whole life. By the time she moved to Paris in 1898, she had been a fully-fledged artist. Between 1898 and 1914, she enjoyed considerable success, receiving enthusiastic praise, numerous commissions and prizes. She was also decorated with the Polonia Restituta Order (1938), but she lived in solitude and oblivion during the interwar period. She made her debut at the Friends of Fine Arts Society in Cracow in 1886, and then had exhibitions on a regular basis at both home and abroad, e.g. in Berlin (1892, 1893), Munich (1893), Prague, London, Paris (1896), Pittsburgh (Carnegie Institute: 1901, 1906, 1907, 1920-1928), Amsterdam (1912), and Venice (1914, 1938). She painted still lifes, flower compositions, landscapes and interior scenes. Portrait painting was her primary field. She practically confined herself to one technique, oil on cardboard (using pastels rarely). She applied dry paint in small brushstrokes onto matte unprimed surface (never used varnish). She would often scrape paint off with a knife, leaving large areas unpainted. Using this method, she obtained light and vibrant matter throughout the whole area of the painting, fusing the figure of the model and the surrounding space into an integral whole. She decreased the realistic quality of the sitters' depictions to the benefit of exposing their spiritual expression. She placed special emphasis on hands. She took a long time to work on a portrait, sometimes several months, holding multiple sessions with the model. She subordinated the technical means entirely to one paramount principle: to convey the true nature of the model. Her portraits did not cater to popular tastes, as she did not hesitate to depict expressions of thoughtlessness, pride or haughtiness; they were rather created for connoisseurs, who appreciated her extraordinary painterly quality of these works.

Brandel Konstanty (1880-1970) – Painter and graphic artist. He is a notable contributor to the Young Poland movement. He studied painting at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Leon Wyczółkowski, Józef Mehoffer, Jan Stanisławski and Teodor Axentowicz. In 1903, he left for Paris, where he made friends with Olga Boznańska. He painted mainly watercolour and pastel landscapes and portraits, but became known for above all his graphic art.

Bruzdowicz Franciszek (1861-1912) – He studied at Wojciech Gerson Drawing Class in Warsaw (1880-1883), and then at Cracow School of Fine Arts under Jan Matejko (1883-1887). In 1901, he was actively involved in organising the Polish Applied Arts Society. Then he settled in Lithuania, where he practiced wall painting. He exhibited in Warsaw, Cracow, Lviv and Düsseldorf. He painted mainly landscapes and religious and symbolic compositions.

Bukowski Jan (1873-1938) – Painter and graphic artist. He studied law at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow, and in the years 1893-1900, at Cracow School of Fine Arts under Władysław Łuszczkiewicz, Leon Wyczółkowski, Jacek Malczewski and Józef Unierzyński. From 1900, he studied at the graphic school of Neumann and Wolff in Munich. A cofounder of the School of Fine Arts and Artistic Industry for Women in Cracow, a lecturer in Maria Niedzielska's painting school in Cracow, a member of the Society of Polish Artists Sztuka, and a co-organiser of the Society of Polish Applied Art. From 1912, he was a professor at the School of Artistic Industry in Cracow. He made several murals in churches across Little Poland, designed stained-glass windows, books and book-plates. A winner of numerous national awards.

Bulas Jan (1878-1917) – After attending the Wood Industry School in Zakopane, he studied at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts (1901-1906) under Florian Cynk, Józef Mehoffer, Stanisław Wyspiański and Jan Stanisławski. In 1909, he set up an atelier in Cracow. He took part in numerous exhibitions of the Friends of the Arts Society in Cracow and Lviv and the Society for the Encouragement of Fine Arts in Warsaw. He made print art illustrations, designed stained-glass windows and wall decorations, painted portraits and religious pictures, and also created several series of symbolic paintings.

Bunsch Adam (1896-1969) – In the years 1914-1915, he studied at the academy of Fine Arts in Vienna and then, in the years 1917-1921, at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Józef Mehoffer. Simultaneously, he studied philosophy at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow. During World War II, he stayed in France and England; he returned to Poland in 1945. As a painter he created predominantly portraits, genre scenes, landscapes and still lifes. He was also interested in wood-engraving, but above all in polychromy and stained-glass windows. He also wrote plays.

Chelmoński Józef (1849-1914) – He was born in the village of Boczki near Łowicz in central Congress Poland, Russian Empire. His first drawing teacher was his father (a small leaseholder and administrator of Boczki village). After finishing high school in Warsaw, he studied in Warsaw Drawing Class (1867–1871) and took private lessons from Wojciech Gerson. From 1871 to 1874, Chelmoński lived in Munich. He worked with Polish painters assembled around Józef Brandt and Maksymilian Gierymski. He also had studied for a few months at the academy of H. Anschütz and A. Strahuber. In 1872 and 1874, he visited the Polish territories (Poland as a country did not exist then), Tatra Mountains and Ukraine. His first paintings were done under the influence of Gerson. The works that followed were landscapes and villages. In 1875, Chelmoński went to Paris, where he had many important exhibitions and became known to the art scene. With many orders, the artistic level of his paintings decreased. From 1878 to 1887, he visited Poland, Vienna and Venice. In 1887 he returned to Poland and in 1889 settled in Kuklówka Zarzeczna village.

Czachórski Władysław (1850-1911) – In the years 1866-1868, he studied at Wojciech Gerson's Drawing Class in Warsaw, then in Dresden, and subsequently at the Munich Academy under H. Auschütz and Alexander Wagner. In 1879, he settled for good in Munich, where he taught at the Academy. His work remained under the influence of Munich academicism. He painted salon figural compositions, genre scenes, landscapes, portraits, still lifes, and Shakespearian themes.

Czajkowski Józef (1872-1947) – In 1891, he enrolled at the Munich Academy of Fine Arts, where he studied under Johann and Ludwig Herterich, and Karl Marr. Later, he studied in Paris, Académie Julian, under Jean-Paul Laurens, Benjamin Constant, and James Abbott McNeill Whistler. He also studied at the Kunstgewerbeschule in Vienna. Between 1894 and 1895, he completed his artistic education at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts and in Tadeusz Stryjeński's atelier, at the same time studying architecture at the Cracow University of Technology. In 1901, he became a member of the Society of Polish Artists Sztuka, and cofounded the Polish Applied Arts Society. In 1914, he became a member of Cracow Workshops and a member of the Polish Kilim Workshops in Cracow. From 1919 he taught at the Faculty of Fine Arts of the Vilnius University, and at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts (1922-1938). He painted landscapes, portraits, genre scenes, and interiors. His early works

betray inspirations from ukiyo-e. He considered himself an apprentice of Stanisławski's, but formally, never was one. From 1906, he also designed architectural projects. He played an important role in the field of applied arts, designing functional furniture and kilim tapestries, which combined geometric forms and folk motifs. He was also an art critic.

Czajkowski Stanisław (1878-1954) – Initially, he attended Wojciech Gerson's Drawing Class in Warsaw. Between 1896 and 1903, he studied at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Józef Unierzyski, Jacek Malczewski, Leon Wyczółkowski and Józef Mehoffer. Subsequently, he spent a year in Munich as Johann Herterich's student at the academy there. In years 1904-1906, he studied at Académie Julian in Paris under Jean-Paul Laurens and Jean-Joseph Benjamin-Constant. In 1906, he studied at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Jan Stanisławski. In 1906, he became a member of the Society of Polish Artists Sztuka. He spent the First World War in the Netherlands. During the interwar period, he taught plein-air painting at Warsaw Academy of Fine Arts, where he became a professor of painting in 1950. He painted rural scenes and landscapes, the fruit of his numerous trips around the country.

Czarnecki Wilhelm Henryk (1882-1972) – Painter, conservator, educator, and poet. He studied at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Teodor Axentowicz, Józef Pankiewicz, and Józef Mehoffer (1905-1910). Later he moved to Kielce, where he spent the rest of his life teaching in various educational institutions. From the largely dispersed and lost during the two wars, little has survived at the National Museum in Kielce, but what is extant helps establish that his main field was portraiture.

Czerwenka Erwin (1887-1970) – In the years 1905-1907, he studied at Cracow academy of Fine Arts under Leon Wyczółkowski, Józef Unierzyski and Wojciech Weiss. In the period 1913-1930, he was a professor of drawing in secondary schools in Cracow. From the early 1920s on, he took part in exhibitions as a member of the Society of Polish Artists.

Daniel-Kossowska Stefania (1872-1952) – She studied at the Stroganov School of Applied Art in Moscow, then at the Académie Colarossi in Paris. In 1898, while in Paris, she became involved with the Social democracy of the Polish Kingdom (SDKP) and returned home in order to work for the party. In 1911, she continued her artistic education in Maria Niedzielska's School of Fine Arts for Women in Cracow. She settled down in Cracow for good. She belonged to the Association of Artists (ZAP), the association of Polish Women Artists and the Society for the Encouragement of Fine Arts in Warsaw. She painted mostly portraits and less often landscapes.

Dąbrowa-Dąbrowski Eugeniusz (1870-1941) – Painter and graphic artist. He studied painting in Paris, Berlin and Munich. With the cooperation of Józef Czajkowski, he decorated the artistic salon of Stary Theatre in Cracow (1905-1906). He designed kilims, posters, graphic layouts of publications and exhibition catalogues. In 1901, he became a member of Polish Applied Arts Society.

Dębicki Stanisław (1866-1924) – He began to study painting in 1881 at Vienna Academy of Fine Arts under Christian Griepenkerl. For a short time he was also a student of Władysław Łuszczkiewicz's at Cracow School of Fine Arts. In 1884, he moved to Munich, to continue his studies at the Academy there under Alexander Wagner, and also in Paul Nauen's private school. Around 1886, he taught at the Ceramic Industry School in Kolomiya, developing an interest in Hutsul folklore. In 1890-1891, he continued his education at the Académie

Colarossi in Paris, where he studied under Pascal Adolphe Jean Dagnan-Bouveret and Emmanuel Fremiet. Finally, he settled down in Lviv. In 1902, he became a member of the Vienna Secession. In 1909, he took over the Chair of Decorative Painting at Cracow academy of Fine Arts, where he became a professor in 1911. Between 1911 and 1914, he taught classes in Maria Niedzielska's School of Fine Arts for Women in Cracow. As an executive of the Friends of Fine Arts Society in Lviv, he sat on the jury admitting artists' works to exhibitions. He seldom exhibited his own pictures, mostly in Lviv and Cracow. He painted portraits, genre scenes of life in Hutsul villages and Jewish shtetls. Initially, he adhered to the requirements of Realism; probably still before his departure for Paris he became interested in the achievements of Impressionism, the issues of light and motion, and he brightened up his palette. He was also involved in printmaking, a field where the inspiration of Japanese art in his work became particularly manifest. He was a great success as a book illustrator, and also made sculptures, designed stage sets, furniture and ceramic ware. He collected Japanese art, primarily woodblock prints with landscape motifs.

Eibisch Eugeniusz (1896-1987) – After completing his secondary education in Lublin, he moved to Cracow in 1912. Between 1916 and 1920, he studied painting at Cracow academy of Fine Arts under Jacek Malczewski and Wojciech Weiss. From 1922, he lived in Paris, where he made close friends with Georges Braque, Louis Marcoussi and Chaim Soutine. In 1926, he signed a contract with the Polish art dealer Leopold Zborowski and in 1928 with Georges Bernheim. In 1939, he returned to Cracow to accept the chair of painting at the Academy of Fine Arts there. In fact, because of the war, he was able to assume the position only in 1945. From 1950, he was a professor at Warsaw Academy of Fine Arts. His early works are close to Formism, and after 1920, his still lifes reveal links with Chaim Soutine's painting.

Ejsmond Stanisław (1894-1939) Stanisław was a son of Franciszek Ejsmond, also a painter who was the only son of a teacher of painting. He made his debut in 1910 at the Society for the Encouragement of Fine Arts and has exhibited his work there in the years 1910-1937, for which he won many awards and medals (including in 1932 for painting roses). In 1929, he exhibited in the group of unaffiliated artists in Poznań. Several times he sat in the juries for competitions at the Society for the Encouragement of Fine Arts in Warsaw, including in 1926 and 1938, and since 1937 he held various positions in the Society. In 1939, he left Warsaw transporting important collections of art from Cracow to Lublin in order to prevent the Nazis from seizing them. There he was killed during the bombing of the city. He painted mainly flowers, still lifes, hunting themes, portraits, and fantastic imagery. He also made decorative panneaux and propaganda posters.

Ekiert Jan (1907-1993) – Polish artist active in Paris. His paintings fall into the categories of Colourism, post-Impressionism, and abstraction. He exhibited in many Parisian galleries, and after his death his collection, including his paintings, was donated to the National Museum of the Przemyśl region in Poland.

Fabijański Stanisław Ignacy (1865-1947) – Painter and sculptor. He studied at Cracow School of Fine Arts under Florian Cynk, Władysław Łuszczkiewicz, and Jan Matejko, and at the Munich Academy under Alexander Wagner. He painted old Polish cities and designed posters.

Falat Julian (1853-1929) – In the years 1869-1871, he studied at Cracow School of Fine Arts under Władysław Łuszczkiewicz and Leon Dembowski. In 1872 and 1873, he was in the Ukraine, where he worked as a draughtsman for the archaeologist and collector P. Krzyżanowski, and in the same capacity for the archaeologist and architect L. Gąsiorowski in Odessa. In 1873, he studied architecture at Technische Hochschule in Zurich, before he moved to Munich. Until 1875, he worked as a technical draughtsman in a railway-building project in the Zurich Canton. During the years 1878-1880, he studied at Munich Academy of Fine Arts under Alexander Strähuber and Leonhard Johann Raab. In 1880, he spent a few months in Rome, and also travelled to Paris and Spain. In 1885, he made a sea voyage around the world (via Suez, Ceylon, India, Japan and the United States). During that period, he resided in Warsaw. After a Berlin exhibition of his watercolours painted during hunting at the Radziwiłłs' estate in Nieśwież in 1886, he was appointed the imperial court painter of hunting scenes by the Prussian Emperor Wilhelm II. In 1895, he moved to Cracow in connection with his nomination as Headmaster of the School of Fine Arts there. He implemented far-reaching reforms in the Cracow School so that it was formally converted into an academy in 1900 (he remained its Rector till 1909). In 1910, he settled down at his manor estate in Bystra. In 1921, and 1922, he was Director of the Department of Culture and Arts at the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Public Enlightenment. From 1923 on, he was a member of Berlin Art Academy. He had joined the Society of Polish Artists Sztuka already in 1897, taking part in nearly all of its exhibitions at home and abroad. During his lifetime his works featured in numerous international exhibitions, e.g. in Paris, Berlin, Munich and Vienna. His primary medium was watercolour. He depicted hunting scenes in winter scenery, and also landscapes, views of architecture, folk types and portraits, as well as genre scenes. Initially, his convention was realistic, but overtime he brightened his palette, approaching the tenets of Impressionism. Around 1900, his paintings, particularly his ambient serene landscapes, began to show affinity to Symbolism.

Filipkiewicz Mieczysław (1891-1951) – Stefan's and Stanisław's brother, he studied at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Stanisław Dębicki, Józef Pankiewicz, and Teodor Axentowicz (1910-1915). Then, he spent some time in Vienna working as a technical draughtsman for Austrian Railways. Between 1921 and 1923, he returned to Cracow Academy to study under Wojciech Weiss. He painted mainly landscapes inspired by Jan Stanisławski's work, marine and mountain themes, as well as still lifes.

Filipkiewicz Stanisław (?) – Stefan's and Mieczysław's brother; painted still lifes and landscapes.

Filipkiewicz Stefan (1879-1944) – Between 1900 and 1907, he studied at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Florian Cynk, Józef Mehoffer, Leon Wyczółkowski, Jan Stanisławski and Józef Pankiewicz. His debut took place at the Friends of the Arts Society in Cracow when he was twenty. In 1908, he joined the Society of Polish Artists Sztuka. In 1913, he started teaching decorative painting at the School of Industry in Cracow, and in 1914-1917 he served in the Polish Legions. Starting in 1930, he taught at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts, where he became a professor extraordinarius. He took part in the Berlin Secession exhibitions, and numerous other collective displays in Europe and America. In 1926, his individual exhibition was organised in Lviv, showing eighty works dating from 1917-1926. During the Second World War, he was involved with the underground resistance movement in Hungary. Arrested by the Gestapo, he was imprisoned in a concentration camp, where he died. He is

considered one of the most talented representatives of 'Stanisławski's school'. He painted landscapes, usually of the Tatra Mountains and subalpine areas, as well as still lifes. His early work was highly valued by Artur Schroeder. In a later period, the artist began to move in a rut, reiterating the same themes. Following Stanisławski's death, together with Henryk Szczygliński, he organised two exhibitions in Cracow in 1907: one to show the works of his Mentor (*Jan Stanisławski. A Posthumous Exhibition*) and the other one to present the works of his students (*Exhibition of the Works by Professor Jan Stanisławski's Students*). He displayed his own works there as well: eight oil paintings (Landscape I and II, Asters, Nasturtium, Carnations, Flowers, Matthiolas, Chrysanthemums), eight woodblock prints, and his illustrations for the children's book *Księżeczka Halusi*.

Florkiewicz Witold (1874-1940) – He studied at the School of Artistic Industry in Cracow, and between 1894 and 1900 at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Florian Cynk, Józef Unierzyski, Jacek Malczewski, Teodor Axentowicz and Jan Stanisławski. In 1902, he went to Paris, where he stayed till 1904. Then he returned to settle in Cracow. In 1920, he began teaching drawing at a carpentry school in Kalwaria Zebrzydowska. In 1902, he received a brown medal from Cracow Academy of Fine Arts for his landscapes. In 1907, he took part in the *Exhibition of Works of Professor Jan Stanisławski's Students*, organised as a posthumous tribute to the Master. He showed three of his works: Night, Clearing the Woods, and Manor.

Fromowicz-Nassau Maria (1897-1940) – She studied at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Wojciech Weiss (1919/1920). In 1926, she travelled to Rome, where she had an exhibition of twenty-six of her paintings. She also exhibited in Cracow (1927). She painted landscapes, still lifes and portraits.

Frycz Karol (1877-1963) – He studied architecture at the Technical University of Munich (1896-1898). In 1902, he graduated with a gold medal from the department of painting at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts, where he spent four years studying under Józef Unierzyski and Leon Wyczółkowski. At the same time he studied art history at the Jagiellonian University. Years 1902-1904 were spent at the School of Arts and Crafts in Vienna, studying under Alfred Roller, majoring in decorative arts and theatre design. He continued his studies at the Académie Julien in Paris and at Hubert Herkomer's school in Bushey near London. Back in Cracow, between 1905 and 1907 he taught art history in the Adrian Baraniecki Courses and from 1906 to 1908 bookmaking aesthetics and graphic design in printing industry courses. He travelled extensively; in 1912 he spent some time in Italy, and also travelled to Africa, China and Japan, where he was the cultural attaché at the Polish Embassy in Tokyo. He spent most of his work time in Cracow and Warsaw, where from 1913 on he designed stage sets, becoming a resident stage designer at the Polish Theatre and at the National Theatre (1931-1933) in Warsaw, and subsequently at the Juliusz Słowacki Theatre in Cracow (1933-1935). In 1924, he began teaching decorative and theatrical painting at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts, and subsequently headed the Faculty of Scenography which he founded himself in 1950. He made polychrome paintings, designed interiors and worked on fresco renovation. He was also a printmaker; his Views of Cracow were published as part of the Portfolio for the 11th Convention of Physicians and Biologists (Cracow 1911). He made caricatures, which were featured in Cracow satirical magazines, *Chochół* and *Liberum Veto*, from 1902 to 1904. In 1904, thirteen of his lithographic caricatures of Cracow actors were included in *Melpomene's Portfolio*. From 1905 on, he was connected with the Green Balloon Cabaret, for which he wrote texts, designed stage sets, posters and invitations, and in which

he performed himself. He was one of the greatest artists of theater of the first half of the twentieth century in Poland. He introduced a modern way of stage lighting - light colored lights were created by the depth of the stage space.

Galek Stanisław (1876-1961) – In the years 1891-1895, he was a pupil of the Wood Industry Vocational School in Zakopane (ornamental and figurative sculpture class), and then, between 1896 and 1899, he was an assistant to Edgar Kováts there, and also an assistant for 'the teaching of drawing'. In 1899-1900, he studied painting at Cracow School of Fine Arts under Jacek Malczewski and Jan Stanisławski, and also in Munich and Paris (under Jean-Léon Gérôme). When he came back, he lived in Zakopane. In the years 1912-1916, he taught at the Wood Industry Vocational School in Kolomiya, and between 1916 and 1931 at the Wood Industry Vocational School in Zakopane. In 1910 -1914, he designed kilims for the Kilim Association in Zakopane. He was a member of the Podhale Art Society and of the Warsaw Society for the Encouragement of Fine Arts. He exhibited his works in a number of cities in Poland (often in Zakopane) and abroad (e.g. in Budapest, at an alpine landscape exhibition in 1930). His painting oeuvre comprises mostly Tatra landscapes (including numerous depictions of the alpine lakes: Czarny Staw Gąsienicowy and Morskie Oko). He exhibited his Tatra paintings for the first time in 1900 in Cracow in the Friends of the Arts Society's building. Those were: Mt. Giewont, *Czarny Staw Gąsienicowy*, Morskie Oko, Kozie Wierchy in the Tatras. During the interwar period, he gained the opinion of the best landscapist of the Tatra Mountains. He took part in the *Exhibition of Works of Professor Jan Stanisławski's* Students, organised in 1907 as a posthumous tribute to the Master. He showed six of his oil paintings: Czarny Staw, A Street in Zakopane, Snow, The Dunajec River, White Frost and Cottages.

Gedliczka Zdzisław (1885-1957) – Painter, graphic artist and art educator. In the years 1907-1912, he studied at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Leon Wyczółkowski and Stanisław Dębicki. He was associated with the Cracow Workshops. From 1926, he directed the Faculty of Embroidery and lace Design in the State School of Decorative Arts and in 1937, he became a professor of the Textile Faculty of that school. From 1945, he was a lecturer and professor at the Higher School of Plastic Arts in Cracow and the dean of the Textile Faculty there. He designed wall paintings and stained-glass windows (Czernichów, Łagiewniki, Proszowice).

Gizbert Maria (1868-1955) – From about 1882, she studied painting at the Adrian Baraniecki Higher Courses for Women in Cracow, then at the Académie Colarossi in Paris, attending simultaneously lectures on art history at the Sorbonne. She travelled widely to Italy, Belgium, France and Denmark. She returned to Poland in 1901 – first she lived in Cracow, from 1914 in Lviv, in 1934, she returned to Cracow. She displayed her work at the Cracow and Lviv Societies of Friends of Fine Arts and at the Society for the Encouragement of Fine Arts in Warsaw. She painted mainly landscapes and floral compositions, and also some figural compositions, designed stained-glass windows and took up decorative painting.

Glasner Jakub (1879-1942) – Painter and graphic artist; he studied at the Viennese Academy of Art, and then at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Teodor Axentowicz and Jan Stanisławski. In 1905, he travelled to Venice and Paris, where he studied with Lucien Simon. He had his debut in 1907 exhibiting with the Society of Polish Artists Sztuka. Later, he exhibited in Vienna, Berlin, Paris, and the Hague. He lived and created in Bielsko-Biała. He made mainly landscapes and portraits.

Goryńska Wiktoria (1902-1945) – She spent her childhood in Britain, and then took courses in graphic arts at the Kunstgewerbeschule in Vienna. Between 1920 and 1921, she studied at Konrad Krzyżanowski's School of Painting and Drawing in Warsaw, and then (1923-1927) at Warsaw School of Fine Arts under Władysław Skoczylas. She was a member of The Society of Polish Graphic Artists (from 1928) and the group Ryt (from 1919). She practiced woodblock, linocut and metal techniques.

Gottlieb Leopold (1879 or 1883-1934) – Painter and graphic artist. In the years 1896-1902, he was educated at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Jacek Malczewski and Teodor Axentowicz. Then he studied in Munich. In 1910, he was the chair of painting at the School of Fine Arts in Jerusalem. He served in the Polish Legions. From 1905, he belonged to the Group of Five. He displayed his work at the Parisian Salons and in 1929, joined the group Rhythm. He painted numerous war scenes and portraits of soldiers.

Gottlieb Maurycy (1856-1879) – He was a Jewish painter, of Polish-speaking Galician Jews from the western part of Ukraine. He was born in Drohobycz (at that time Austria-Hungary), Galicia, modern Lviv region, western Ukraine. Maurycy was one of Isaac & Fanya Tigerman Gottlieb's eleven children. At fifteen, he was enrolled at the Vienna Fine Arts Academy. Later, he would study under Jan Matejko in Cracow Academy of Fine Arts. However, he experienced anti-Semitism from his fellow students, and left Matejko's studio after less than a year, he then travelled to Norway settling in Molde. After several years he returned to Vienna to pursue his Jewish roots. At twenty, he won a gold medal from a Munich art competition for Shylock and Jessica, a scene from Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*. He based Jessica's face on that of Laura Rosenfeld, to whom he had proposed marriage. However, Rosenfeld rejected his proposal, and wed a Berlin banker. Gottlieb then planned to marry Lola Rosengarten, but when he heard about Rosenfeld's marriage he committed suicide by exposure to the elements, dying of complications from a cold. Despite his early death, more than three hundred of his works survive, though not all are finished. After the fall of communism in Poland, many Polish collections unknown in the West were discovered, and his reputation grew greatly. His brother, painter Leopold Gottlieb, was born five years after his death.

Grott Teodor (1884-1972) – In the years 1904-1911, he was a student of Florian Cynk and Leon Wyczółkowski's at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts. He continued his education in Paris, London and Italy. Besides painting, he was interested in craftsmanship – together with his wife he founded a kilim rug factory. He designed kilims from 1913 on. He was an honorary member of the Cracow Society of the Friends of Fine Arts, for which, from 1949 onwards, he organised exhibitions. He painted portraits, landscapes and still lifes, most often in watercolours.

Grus Kazimierz (1885-1955) – Caricaturist, draughtsman and book illustrator. He studied in Grudziądz, Leipzig and Liège, and received his artistic education in Paris and Berlin. In the interwar period, he moved with his artist wife Maja Berezowska to Silesia. During World War II, he was hiding in Warsaw under a false name, and thereafter remained in the capital. He specialised in political and social caricature.

Gumowski Jan Kanty (1883-1946) – Painter, draughtsman, and graphic artist. He studied at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Józef Mehoffer and Konstanty Laszczka; and then in

Italy (1911-1912), Munich (1913-1914), and Paris. He painted portraits, landscapes and architecture. Between 1915 and 1928, he published a series of lithographic portfolios depicting the treasures of Polish architecture. He fought in the Polish Legions.

Gwozdecki Gustaw (1880-1935) – The artist came from a family with theatrical and literary traditions. He studied in the private schools of Stanisław Grocholski and Anton Ažbe in Munich (1898). He painted landscapes in the nearby town of Dachau, which attracted the interest of German critics and art educators. After his return from Germany in 1900, he first stayed in Cracow, where he studied at the Academy there in Jan Stanisławski's studio, and had his debut at the Friends of Fine Arts Society. He continued his studies at Konrad Krzyżanowski's private school in Warsaw, whose work had a great impact on Gwozdecki. In 1902, he spent some time in Chartres, France, and in 1913 made Paris his permanent place of residence, specifically Montparnasse, and enrolled in a sculpture course with Hubert Ponscarme at the École des Beaux-arts. He had friends in the Polish 'colony' in France: Olga Boznańska, Władysław Ślewiński, Bolesław Biegas, and Eugeniusz Zak. He was also in contact with the international artistic circle of Montparnasse, among them Amadeo Modigliani, Giorgio de Chirico, Henri Matisse, Antoine Bourdelle, Louis Vauxcelles, Guillaume Apollinaire, and André Salmon. In 1914, he opened his 'painting workshop', an art school for Poles living in France, which however stayed open only till the outbreak of World War I. He visited the United States several times, mostly New York, where he was actively involved in the cultural life of the Polish Diaspora, and in 1927 formed the Committee to Foster Friendly Relations between the Arts in Poland and America, becoming its first president. He was also chairman of the board of the Annual Salons in New York. In the early 1920s, he became friends with Catherine Dreier, an artist and collector, but above all the cofounder – together with Marcel Duchamp – of the Société Anonyme, an organisation popularising abstract art in America. His works were included in the Dreier collection. In addition to painting and drawing (illustrations for the magazines: *Rydwan* and *Krokwie*), he also made sculptures and prints – mostly etchings, monotypes, and works in a technique of his own invention, called gwozdotyping, akin to monotyping. He published articles on art in Lviv's *Nasz Kraj*, and the French magazines *L'ami du Peuple* and *Comoedia*. In 1908, he published his essay *On the Revolution in Art*. The first exhibition of his works probably took place in Warsaw (1901). Subsequent ones were held in Poznań (1907), Lviv (1907), and Cracow (1908). The most important were his individual exhibitions in 1912 and 1913 in Paris, at his own studio in Montparnasse, also the venue of his last show, arranged by the painter just a few days before his death in 1935. In New York, he exhibited his works in 1918, in 1921-1922, and after 1925. He had a posthumous exhibition as part of the Autumn Salon in Paris. The painter's works had actually been displayed during the Paris Salons from 1902 on. He took part in the exhibitions of the Munich Kunstverein (1900), the Friends of Fine Arts Societies in Cracow (1900 debut) and Lviv, the Society for the Encouragement of Fine Arts in Warsaw, the Juryfreien in Vienna and Berlin (1910-1911), the Society of Polish Artists *Sztuka* in Cracow, and the Polish Expressionists, subsequently known as the Formists (1917, 1918 and twice in 1919). Initially, he painted dark visionary portrait and expressionist landscapes, echoing the aesthetics of Stanisław Przybyszewski. While in France, between 1906 and 1914, he was fascinated by the painting styles of the Post-Impressionists and the Pont-Aven school (encountered through Władysław Ślewiński), and then turned toward the idea of pure painting. In the 1920s, he was partial to various styles, e.g. Classicism. He found inspiration in Fayum portraits and Greek vases.

Halicka Alicja (1894-1975) – Painter, illustrator, stage designer. She spent her childhood in Switzerland and Austria. In Cracow, she studied in Maria Niedzielska's private school of painting for women, and took classes with Leon Wyczółkowski, Wojciech Weiss and Józef Pankiewicz. In 1912, she left Poland to study in Munich. The same year, however, she arrived in Paris and began studies at the Académie Ranson. In 1913, she married Louis Marcoussi. She was friends with Moïse Kisling, Jules Piscine, Guillaume Apollinaire and Tsuguharu Foujita. During World War I, she stayed in Paris, designing wallpapers and carpets. In 1919 and 1921, she travelled to Poland. In 1935-1938, she travelled three times to America. She cooperated with the magazines *Harper's Bazar* and *Vogue*, and designed stage sets. Her early works, mostly portraits and still lifes, were inspired by Cubism, and in the 1920, she began making romances capitonnées, and works combining painting, relief and collage.

Hecht Józef (1891-1952) – He was a student of Wojciech Weiss's at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts (1909-1914). After graduation, he became attached to expressionistic avant-garde groups, among others Jung Idysz. In the 1920s, he left for Paris. He displayed his works at, among others, the First International Art Exhibition in Düsseldorf, and numerous times in Parisian and London galleries. He created landscapes, as well as nudes and portraits; he was also engaged in book illustration and sculpture. He made a profound impact of 20th century printmaking.

Homolacs Karol (1874-1965) – Painter, printmaker, designer of kilim rugs and furniture, book illustrator, theoretician of applied art and teacher. His education was versatile, including painting in Paris at the École Centrale, the Académie Julian and the Académie Colarossi, followed by training in Vienna and Munich. A member of the Cracow Workshops, Polish Applied Art Society, and Polish Art Industry Union, he was also a curator at the Museum of Technology and Industry in Cracow.

Indenbaum Leon (1890-1981) – Sculptor born in Vilnius; studied at a drawing school in Vilnius, and then in Odessa. In 1911, he went to Paris, where he took residence in 'La Ruche' in Montparnasse. He became friends with Chaim Soutine, Amadeo Modigliani, and Tsuguharu Foujita. In the years 1914-1920, he studied at the atelier of Emile-Antoine Bourdelle. He belonged to the Udar group (1921-1923), and at the beginning of the 1930s, he was associated with the group of Russian artists gathered around the magazine *Czista*. After the war, he lived in the south of France. In 1968, he received the Wildenstein award. He had his debut in the Salon des Independents in 1912, and then showed his work at the Salon d'Automne (from 1926 on), and Salon des Tuilleries. His sculpture was also shown in many collective exhibitions (Bry-sur-Marne, 1983; New York, 1985; Paris and Warsaw). His media were stone, terracotta, plaster, and also bronze. Initially, he made synthetic busts in the convention of the new Classicism, and then under Bourdelle's influence, he began to sculpt figures with elongated bodies. During the 1920s, his works were collected by Jacques Doucet.

Iwanowski Błażej (1889-1966) – He studied drawing with F. Roliński, W. Dymitrow, and B. Kowalewski. Between 1910 and 1912 he studied at Warsaw Drawing School with Stanisław Lentz in Warsaw. He painted interiors, still lifes, architecture and genre scenes.

Jagmin Stanisław (1875-1961) – He came from a landowning family of Callisto and Fanny Aulok-Mielec. Graduated from high school in Łowicz, and briefly worked in a factory in Warsaw. In 1898, he enrolled Cracow School of Fine Arts. He studied sculpture and ceramics

under Konstanty Laszczka. In the years 1904-1905, he was in Paris in the Académie Julian and practiced with the brothers in Severes Mougins and ceramic factories in Meissen and Vienna. In 1905, he founded the ceramics factory near Łowicz Nieborów. In 1909, he launched in Warsaw Poland's first totally mechanized tiling. Between 1918 and 1919, he taught in the Modzelewski private film school in Warsaw. In 1920, he became head of the Department of Sculpture and Ceramics at the School of Decorative Arts in Poznań. In the years 1925-1936, led the Department of Ceramics, co-organized the ceramics factory in Chodzież and Ostrzeszów. After the war, in the years 1944-1952, was the conservator on the Board of the City of Warsaw and dealt with the reconstruction of monuments and park sculpture. Jagmin was a tireless experimenter in the field of ceramic technology and their applications in architecture. After a period of fascination with art nouveau, later works were closer to classicism.

Jahl Władysław (1886-1953) – He studied law at the Lviv University, and then art history at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow. In 1912, he left for Paris, where he continued his education at the Académie de la Grande-Chaumière. After the outbreak of World War I, he went to Spain, where he studied painting with Józef Pankiewicz. In 1919, he returned to Paris, where he stayed for good. Until 1920, he lived with Moïse Kisling. During the interwar period, he travelled often to Spain. He worked as an artistic director for such Madrid magazines as *Revista de Occidente*, *Ultra*, and *Indice*. He also made decorations for the Odeon Theatre. In 1937, he travelled to Lviv, and during World War II, he lived in Voiron near Grenoble. He returned to Paris after the war, and in the years 1947-1948 used Mela Muter's atelier. He belonged to the Association of Polish Artists in Paris, and the Association of Polish Graphic Artists. From 1919, he exhibited in numerous venues across Europe and in New York. His painting reveals the influence of Pankiewicz and Baroque art, as well as that of École de Paris expressionism. Initially, he painted urban landscapes with elongated figures in white-grey colour schemes. In the 1930s, he adopted a more vibrant palette. Jahl also practiced graphic arts.

Jarocki Władysław (1897-1965) – Painter, graphic artist and architect. He studied architecture at the Lviv Polytechnic and painting at Cracow academy of Fine Arts under Józef Mehoffer and Leon Wyczółkowski, and then at Académie Julian in Paris. In 1909, he became a member of the Society of Polish Artists *Sztuka*, and in 1910 of the Viennese Secession. In the years 1920-1921, he conducted drawing courses at the Lviv Polytechnic and at the State School of Industry. In 1921, he became a professor at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts. Between 1925 and 1928, he acted as the dean of the Faculty of Painting and Sculpture and from 1933 to 1935 as vice rector of the Academy. During World War II, he was a professor at the *Städtliche Handwerker und Kunstgewerbeschule* in Cracow. Between 1927 and 1934, he chaired the Society of Friends of Fine Arts in Cracow. In 1904, with Fryderyk Pautsch and Kazimierz Sichulski, he spent six months in Tarnów studying the Hutsul folk art. Then he became interested in the art of the Podhale highlanders. In the years 1920-1921, he was a stage designer at the Municipal Theatre in Lviv. He made cartoons for the periodicals *Liberum Veto* and *Szczutek*.

Jaroszyńska-Raczyńska Maria (1906-1962) – Countess, and the second wife of Count Edward Bernard Raczyński, Polish President in exile (1979-1986). She spent most of her adult life in exile in London.

Jasiński Feliks (1862-1901) – Draughtsman and one of Europe's most distinguished printmakers. Following the unsuccessful Polish Uprising of 1863, his family moved to Belgium, and from 1871, he settled in Cracow. He returned to Brussels between 1880 and 1881 to study painting at the m Van Alphen School. In 1882, he went to Paris to study metal-making and soon took French citizenship. It was through his friendship with the printmaker Léon Gaucherel that he decided to train as a printmaker. In 1885, he was commissioned to produce a set of prints after the Old Masters. In recognition of his gold medal at the 1887 salon, he was invited to become a regular contributor to the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, which subsequently published eighteen of his prints. With his second gold medal at the Blanc et Noir exhibition in Paris in 1889, he was confirmed in his standing as one of Europe's leading printmakers. He was commissioned by the London-based printmaker Arthur Tooth & Sons to produce a series of prints after six of Edward Burne-Jones' works (1894-1900), as well as Dante Gabriel Rossetti's *Paulo and Francesca* (1903). At the time of this collaboration he made several visits to London. He was awarded a gold medal at the 1900 Universal Exhibition in Paris for three works. He was colour-blind, which limited his own artistic activity to pencil drawings and pastel, reminiscent of Gauguin and his close friend Félix Vallotton. His prints were exhibited throughout Europe, including France, Munich, Brussels and Poland.

Jastrzębowski Wojciech (1884-1963) – Interior and applied arts designer, painter, graphic artist and art educator. Between 1904 and 1909, he was Józef Mehoffer's student at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts. He cofounded the association Architecture, Painting and Sculpture; in 1913, he founded Cracow Workshops. He belonged to the Society of Polish Applied Arts and the Society of the Friends of Fine Arts. He taught drawing at the Technical Industrial Museum in Cracow and painting at Maria Niedzielska's School of Fine Arts for Women in Cracow. He fought in the Polish Legions. He cooperated at the organisation of the School of Fine Arts in Warsaw, where he was a professor, vice rector and rector. In 1926, he co-organised the co-op *Ład*. He designed stained-glass windows, small architecture, interiors, murals, prints, books, coins and furniture. At the International Exhibition of Decorative Arts in Paris in 1925, he was awarded a Grand Prix, three honorary diplomas and three gold medals. He designed the urn for Marshal Józef Piłsudski's heart, the tombstone and the section of military tombs at the Na Rossie Cemetery in Vilnius. He was one of the creators of the Polish version of Art Déco.

Jaźwiecki Franciszek (1900 -1946) – After military service at the Polish Legions, he began art studies, at first at the Free School of Drawing and Painting in Cracow (1924-1927), and then at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts (1929-1933) under Fryderyk Pautsch and Teodor Axentowicz. For a brief period of time he was related to the Cracow Group. Arrested in 1940, he spent the war in concentration camps. He painted landscapes and architecture, he also made engravings.

Kamieński Antoni (1860-1933) – In 1881, he started his education at St Petersburg academy of Fine Arts under B.P. Willewaldi, and then in 1891, he went to Paris, where he studied at the Académie Julian under A. Mercié and others. He was a graphic artist and an illustrator.

Kamocki Stanisław (1875-1944) – He studied at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Florian Cynk, Izydor Jabłoński, Józef Unierzyski (from 1891), Leon Wyczółkowski (1895-1899) and Jan Stanisławski (1897-1900), and then in Paris (1901-1902). He travelled much,

mostly to Italy (1904-1905, 1911, 1924), Germany and Switzerland. He lived in Cracow and Zakopane, where he had his atelier. In Cracow, he taught painting at Maria Niedzielska's Art School for Women (from 1908 on), at the School of Artistic Industry and Cracow Academy of Fine Arts (from 1919 on), and also in Zakopane – in his atelier and at the State School of Goral Folk Art (from 1942 on). He joined a number of art societies and often took part in their exhibitions, e.g. the Society of Polish Artists Sztuka (in 1906), the Viennese Secession (1911-1918), the Society for the Encouragement of Fine Arts in Warsaw, and the Podhale Art Society. He had the opinion of Stanisławski's most talented student and also one of the most faithful followers of the Master's landscape painting style, together with Stefan Filipkiewicz and Ludwik Misky. He painted in plein-air settings, immortalising the views of Volhynia, Podole, areas around Cracow and Zakopane, and also decorative still lifes.

Kanelbaum Raymund (1897-1960) – In the years 1918-1919, he studied at the Warsaw School of Fine Arts, first with Stanisław Lentz, and then Tadeusz Pruszkowski. Then, he studied in Vienna and Paris. He was friends with Roman Kramsztyk, Leopold Gottlieb, Moïse Kisling and Zygmunt Menkes. In 1927, he went to Pont-Aven, in 1936 to London, and in 1938 to New York. He maintained close relations with the art scene in Poland, participating in exhibitions of Jewish art in Warsaw (1921-1922), and from 1932 on, he belonged to the Lviv group New Generation. In 1934, he left for Britain, where he became a popular portrait painter. In 1951, he left for New York. He had his studio in Westport, Connecticut, from where he made often trips to Paris and London. Initially, he made idealised compositions in blue-pink colour schemes, and in the 1930s, he began painting works close to Soutine's canvases. He painted dynamic landscapes and figural compositions with contrasting hues. He also left many studies of women and children.

Karpiński Alfons (1875-1961) – He studied painting at Cracow School of Fine Arts (1891-1899) under Florian Cynk, Izydor Jabłoński, Władysław Łuszczkiewicz and Leon Wyczółkowski, at Anton Ažbė's school in Munich (1903) and at the Academy in Vienna under Kazimierz Pochwalski (1904-1907). He continued to study painting during the time he spent in Paris (1908-1912 and 1922-1923). He also travelled to Italy and London. He took up residence in Cracow and became involved with the Green Balloon Cabaret (for which he designed decorations for its successive shows). In late 1911 and early 1912, he was a teacher at the Adrian Baraniecki Higher Education Courses for Women in Cracow. He served in the Austrian army during the First World War. In the years 1918-1927, he was Vice President of the Fine Arts Society in Cracow. He was also a member of the Viennese Secession, the Society of Polish Artists Sztuka, the Society for the Encouragement of Fine Arts in Warsaw, the Universal Union of Independent Polish Artists, the Zero Group, and the Group of Ten. He took part in exhibitions at home and abroad (e.g. in the United States) regularly, and won a number of prizes. Initially, he painted genre scenes and urban landscapes. In the 1920s, he created subdued, hazy portraits and innumerable still lifes with flowers. He used oil and pastel techniques. He also worked as an illustrator and was involved with the applied arts.

Karszniewicz Jerzy (1878-1945) – In the years 1895-1901, he studied at Cracow School of Fine Arts under Florian Cynk, Jacek Malczewski, Józef Mehoffer and Jan Stanisławski. He continued his studies at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris under Jean-Léon Gérôme. He was a member of the 'Jednoróg' (Unicorn) Guild, the Zero Group and the Universal Union of Independent Polish Artists. He painted figurative compositions, portraits and – primarily – landscapes from areas around Cracow and Wieliczka. Just like his mentor Stanisławski, he

preferred small-sized pictures. He took part in the Exhibition of Works of Professor Jan *Stanisławski's Students*, organised in 1907 as a posthumous tribute to the Master. He showed five of his oil paintings: *Road*, *Thistle*, *Flowers*, *A Village Road*, *The Roś Creek*.

Kędzierski Apoloniusz (1861-1939) – Painter, draughtsman, and illustrator; he was one of most popular artists in interwar Warsaw. He was a protégé of Józef Brandt, and studied at Wojciech Gerson's Drawing Class in Warsaw, then at the Munich Academy. He painted landscapes and genre scenes, as well as still lifes and girls' portraits.

Kisling Moïse (1891-1953) – He studied at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts with Józef Pankiewicz. In 1910, he went to Paris, and from 1911, he settled there for good. In 1912, he was in Brittany, and in then in Céret with Picasso and Juan Gris. He was a popular figure in the Montparnasse artistic circle and earned a nickname 'the Prince of Montparnasse'. In 192, he studied under Zak at Académie la Palette. His atelier in rue Joseph-Bara 3 was a popular haunt of École de Paris. In 1914, he fought in a duel with Leopold Gottlieb, an event that became part of rive gauche history. His agents were Adolf Basler, and then Leopold Zborowski. During World War I, he became injured as a soldier. In the years 1918-1919, he lived in Marseille and St Tropez. He belonged to the Paris branch of Strzelec, and the National Association of Polish Painters and Sculptors. After the outbreak of World War II, he joined the French army, and in 1940, he went to New York. From 1946, he lived in Paris and Sanary-sur-Mer. He exhibited in numerous venues in Europe, Japan and America. In the initial period of his career, his painting revealed affinities with the Pont-Aven school, Cézanne, Cubism, and Fauvism. From 1916, his painting was inspired by that of Modigliani. In the interwar period, he became known as a portrait painter, and his portraits depicted somewhat idealised visions of the sitters with large, almond-shaped eyes.

Klimowski Stanisław (1891 - 1982) – He studied at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts, painting under Teodor Axentowicz and Jacek Malczewski (1909-1914), and then sculpture under Konstanty Laszczka (1917-1921). He belonged to the art societies Pro Arte and Encouragement.

Klukowski Ignacy (1908-1978) – He came from a Polish patriotic family and spent his childhood in southern Russia. In 1919, after Poland regained its independence, the Klukowskis left Russia and settled in Poland. His artistic education began in drawing classes led by Barbara Fleury, and then was continued at the department of Fine Arts of the Vilnius University. In 1932, he left for Paris, where he studied at the École Nationale des Beaux-Arts under Paul Albert Laurens. In 1937, he returned to Poland and from 1945, lived and created in Gdańsk, devoting himself to painting architecture (mainly of Gdansk), cityscapes, marine themes, but also to saving the cultural heritage of Gdańsk and Pomerania.

Kochanowski Roman (1857-1945) – First he studied painting under Maksymilian Cerch, then from 1874, drawing and landscape painting, at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Władysław Łuszczkiewicz and Henryk Grabiński. Between 1875 and 1881, he studied at the Viennese Academy under Christian Griepenkerl and Eduard Lichtenfels. In 1881, he went to Munich, where he spent the rest of his life. He had his debut at the Cracow Society of the Friends of Fine Arts, and thereafter exhibited in Vienna, Munich, Berlin, Salzburg, Düsseldorf and London. He painted mainly landscapes of the Cracow region sometimes with

genre accents. The Vistula River was also a popular theme in his work. Occasionally, he painted still lifes.

Kogut Józefa, Zofia and Maria (?) – Sisters, who in their teens were employed as untrained by Antoni Buszek to design batiks at Cracow Workshops in the interwar period. They received numerous awards for their designs, including at the 1925 International Exposition in Paris.

Komorowska Wanda (1873-1946) – Cracow painter and graphic artist; she studied first in Adrian Baraniecki Higher Courses for Women in Cracow. Then, in 1902, she went to Munich, where from 1904, she studied at a private school of graphic arts under Johann Brockoff and Moritz Heymann. In 1904-1905, she continued her education at the Académie Colarossi in Paris under Emil Renard. In 1906, she returned to Cracow. From 1903 on, she exhibited with the Society of Friends of Fine Arts in Cracow and Lviv, and at the Zachęta gallery in Warsaw. She made portraits, flower compositions and landscapes.

Konarska Janina (1900-1975) – She was born into a wealthy Jewish family from Łódź, and received thorough education. Following various pedagogical courses, she enrolled at Warsaw School of Fine Arts, where she became Władysław Skoczylas's favourite graphics student. She exhibited a lot, and received a silver medal at an Olympic Art & Literature Competition in Los Angeles in 1932 for her woodblock *Skiers*. She made mainly graphic art, but also painted and sculpted.

Konieczny Włodzimierz (1886-1916) – Sculptor, printmaker, draughtsman and poet. He studied at the Lviv Polytechnic, the School of Wood Industry in Zakopane and Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Konstanty Laszczka and Józef Pankiewicz (1903-1908). The founding father of the Polish Society of Arts and Letters, the A.R.M.R. Union and the *Rzeźba* Association, he also co-founded the Cracow Workshops. He served and died as a soldier of the First Brigade of the Polish Legions. His works were on show at the Society for the Encouragement of Fine Arts in Warsaw and the Society of Friends of Fine Arts in Cracow. As a sculptor, he portrayed human figures, and his other artistic media were etching and lithography.

Kowalewski Bronisław (1870-1935) – Starting in 1890, he attended Wojciech Gerson's Drawing Class in Warsaw, and then studied at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts (1896-1900) under Józef Unierzyski, Alfred Daun, Leon Wyczółkowski and Jan Stanisławski. In 1900, he went back to Warsaw, where he spent the rest of his life, except for brief intervals. In 1905, he went to Italy for a year-long sabbatical sponsored by the Society for the Encouragement of Fine Arts in Warsaw. In 1912, he spent a few months in Paris, and also visited Munich, Brussels, Berlin and Vienna. In Warsaw, he taught courses organised by the Applied Arts and Crafts Museum and from 1923 on at the Municipal School of Decorative Arts and Painting, where he taught landscape and still life painting. He exhibited his works on numerous occasions in Warsaw and Cracow. He was a popular and highly valued landscape painter. He received numerous prizes and commendations, e.g. for *Wind* (1903), *Summer Evening* (1911, award), *Fresh Snow* (1921), *A Lake in Midday Sun* (1928). In 1929, at a Universal National Exhibition in Poznań, he received a Brown Medal for *A Zakopane Landscape* and in 1930 a Silver Medal for *A Cloud*. He remained under Stanisławski's influence throughout his life.

Kowalski Leon (1870-1937) – He began his art studies at Nikolai Marushko's Painting School in Kiev. According to his own account, he also studied under Nikolay Ge and Mikhail Vrubel. Subsequently, from 1891 to 1893, he studied at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Władysław Łuszczkiewicz, Józef Unierzyski, Leopold Loeffler, and Leon Wyczółkowski. A grant for studies abroad enabled him to spend a year in Munich, where he was enrolled in Karl Raupp's studio, and then he went to Paris, where he studied with Jean Paul Laurens and Benjamin Constant, among others. At the time, he travelled around France, Italy and Germany, and returned to Cracow in 1905, where he co-founded the Zero Group. In 1911, he organised the Universal Union of Polish Artists and became its first president. On behalf of the Union, he arranged the exhibitions of the Independents in 1911 and 1913. He spent World War I in Kiev, where he worked at the School of Fine Arts (1912-1915) and set up the Polish School of Fine Arts in 1917. In 1920, he returned to Cracow for good, and became president of the Union of Visual Artists. He was also the founder of Sztuka Rodzima (Native Art) Society of Painters and Sculptors (1921), the Cracow Circle of Printmakers (1929), and the Society of Print Artists (1930), and a member of the Society for the Encouragement of Fine Arts in Warsaw. His encounter with Impressionism during his stay in France proved decisive for his art. Painting landscapes, cityscapes, garden scenes or flowers, he focused primarily on the issues of light and colour (in addition to oils, he also used watercolours and pastels). He also practiced woodcutting, in which 'ascetic texture (...) confined to the simplest lines and stains, resulted more from painting than printmaking ideas, and from decorative ones – operation of stains on a homogenous surface and the determination of their mutual relation' (Grońska). In 1937, he published his memoirs of his student days *Pędzlem i piórem* (With Brush and Pen) decorated with his own woodcuts. He also made works in such techniques as lithography, soft varnish, dry point and etching.

Kozakiewicz Antoni (1841-1929) – He studied at Cracow School of Fine Arts under Władysław Łuszczkiewicz and Feliks Szynalewski. In 1868, he went to Vienna, where he enrolled in the Academy there. The years 1871-1900, he spent in Munich, and after his return to Poland, he settled in Warsaw and Szczawnica. He painted realistic genre scenes, portraits, landscapes, and historical themes.

Koźniewska Maria (1875-1968) – Polish painter.

Kramsztyk Roman (1885-1942) – In 1903, he studied for one term at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Józef Mehoffer. He continued his education in Adolf Edward Herstein's atelier in Warsaw, then in Munich and Berlin. In the years 1910-1914, he stayed in Paris, and during World War I, he lived in Poland. In 1918, he completed his studies of painting under Herstein, who was then active in Berlin. In 1922, he settled in Paris, spending all his holidays in Poland. Here he was taken by surprise by the outbreak of World War II – he perished in the Warsaw Ghetto shot by the Nazis. In 1911, he became a member of the Society of Polish Artists in Paris; in 1918, he joined the Group of Five, in 1921, he co-founded the group Rytm, exhibiting with all these associations. Artistically formed in the circle of French Post-impressionism, he created portraits, nudes, figural compositions, still lifes and landscapes.

Krasnodębski Piotr (1876-1928) – Initially, he learnt drawing in Jan Owidzki's atelier, and in Wojciech Gerson's Drawing Class. In 1898, he enrolled at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts, where he studied under Józef Unierzyski, Leon Wyczółkowski, Jacek Malczewski and Jan Stanisławski. He was awarded twice for his works. He graduated in 1902 with honours and a

prize. In December that year, he set off on a tour of Europe, visiting Munich, Florence, Zurich, Rome, Milan, Vienna, Dresden, and Prague. In 1903, he came back to Warsaw, where he took an active part in the city's artistic life. In 1910, he became a member of the Committee of the Society for the Encouragement of Fine Arts (and was appointed its President in 1932). Between 1910 and 1913 (?), he was the supervisor of the Vocational Training Courses for Print Artists at the Applied Arts and Crafts Museum in Warsaw. His works were exhibited on numerous occasions in Poland and abroad.

Krasnowolski Józef (1879-1939) – An independent artistic spirit and painter. Having studied first in Warsaw with Wojciech Gerson (from 1896), Józef moved to Cracow in 1898, where he studied at the School of Fine Arts with Jacek Malczewski (to 1900) and with Leon Wyczółkowski (1900/1901). Józef completed his education in Munich in the years 1901-1902. His works are mainly peaceful landscapes with blue-and-rusty striped cottages, portraits of young girls in regional costumes (most often it was his wife who did the modelling, as she could not stand others doing the job), and children - especially his own sons. Since 1903 he regularly participated in exhibitions, in Cracow, Warsaw, Poznań, Lviv, and abroad: in Prague, Vienna, Munich, Budapest, Kiev, and Dresden. His most precious works originated during and after the artist's stay in Paris (1909).

Krzyżanowski Konrad (1872 -1922) – Initially, he gained his education in the Kiev School of Painting under Nicholas Murashko, then (1892-1897) at the Academy of Fine Arts in St Petersburg under Klavdij Lebiediev and Ivan Tvoroznikov. He also followed instruction from Archip Kuindzi and Ilia Riepin. After a short stay in Italy, he left for Munich, where he continued his studies under Simon Holossy (1897-1900). In 1900, he returned to Warsaw, where he founded a private school of painting. In 1904, he became a professor of the Warsaw School of Fine Arts and held this position until 1909. He made frequent travels to Paris and London, Polesie, Volhynia, Estonia and Lithuania. In the years 1916-1918, he lived in Kiev. Having returned to Warsaw, he opened again his school of painting, and conducted drawing courses. He displayed his works from 1899 onwards, and had his first individual exhibition in 1918. He painted portraits, interiors, and landscapes and practiced graphic arts.

Kuczyńska-Fessler Ilka (1871-?) – Polish artist born in Vienna; a representative of the Viennese Jugendstil.

Kugler Włodzimierz (1882-1946) – In 1909, he completed his studies at Cracow academy of Fine Arts. In the years 1910-1914, he exhibited with the Society of the Friends of Fine Arts in Warsaw. He painted mainly genre scenes with animal motifs and landscapes.

Kulesza Marian Stefan (1878-1943) – Painter associated with the Vilnius artistic circle. First he studied in Wojciech Gerson's Drawing Class in Warsaw, and then under Florian Cynk at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts. Between 1900 and 1909, he continued his education at St Petersburg Academy of Fine Arts. He painted mainly portraits, still lifes and church interiors.

Larisch Karol (1902-1935) – In the years 1920-1926, he studied at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Ignacy Pieńkowski, Józef Pankiewicz and Felicjan Kowarski. After his stay in Dresden, he continued to study in the Parisian branch of Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Józef Pankiewicz. He was a member of the Group of Plastic Artists Pryzmat. He painted landscapes and still lifes, interpreted French patterns of Fêtes galantes, and practiced graphic arts.

Lasocki Kazimierz (1871-1952) – First he studied in Wojciech Gerson's Drawing Class in Warsaw (1890-1895), then at the Munich Academy (1895-1898) under C. Herterich, F. Stuck, and A. Abe. Between 1901 and 1904, he was Konrad Krzyżanowski's assistant in his private art school in Warsaw. From 1934, he led the section of animal painters at the Warsaw Art Society. He painted portraits and landscapes.

Laszenko Aleksander (1883-1944) – He studied painting at St Petersburg Academy (1901-1904). Travelled a lot: around the world, North Africa, Europe. He was friends with Howard Carter, the discoverer of Tutankhamen's Tomb. In 1918, he settled in Włocławek, where he lived until the end of his life. He painted predominantly orientalist views of North Africa.

Lenart Bonawentura (1881-1973) – Book-binder, conservator, university teacher and owner of a book-binding shop specialising in unique covers for book of top historical value. He learnt his trade from Marcelli Żenczykowski in Lviv, at Gunther Bauman's book-binding workshop in Vienna, the Academy of Graphic Arts and Book Design in Leipzig, the Zurich School of Arts and Crafts, and the Camberwell School of Arts and Crafts in London. In 1906, he went back to Żenczykowski's workshop. In 1909, he was nominated head of the Master's Book-Binding Course organised at the Museum of Technology and Industry in Cracow. He headed the graphic studio at the Faculty of Fine Arts at the Vilnius University (1919-1929), and in 1927, took the position of professor at Warsaw Academy of Fine Arts, where he worked until 1939 and again in 1945-1951. In 1959-1962, he worked at the conservator's studio at the National Library in Warsaw.

Leski Jerzy (1906-1969) – He studied at the Municipal School of Decorative Arts in Warsaw (1925-1930), and then at Warsaw Academy of Fine Arts under Edmund Bartłomiejczyk (1930-1939). He designed graphic and applied graphic art, toys, and interiors.

Lentz Stanisław (1861-1920) – In the years 1877-1879, he studied at Cracow School of Fine Arts under Jan Matejko; in 1879, in Wojciech Gerson's Drawing Class in Warsaw, in the years 1880-1884, at the Munich Academy under Alexander Wagner and Gyula Benczur, and between 1884 and 1887, at Académie Julian in Paris. He was associated with the Society of Artists *Odlam*, the Zero Group, and since 1910, the Society of Polish Artists *Sztuka*. In 1909, he became a director of Warsaw School of Fine Arts. He was a draughtsman, painter and cartoonist, and made genre paintings and portraits.

Lisowski Ludwik (1907-1943) – Until 1936, he studied at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Władysław Jarocki and Fryderyk Pautsch. He painted still lifes and nudes.

Łada-Maciągowa Małgorzata (1881-1969) – She received her art education at the Adrian Baraniecki's Higher Courses for Women in Cracow and under the tutorship of Jacek Malczewski. Then she studied at the Académie Julian in Paris. She painted portraits, genre scenes and still lifes.

Łotocki Kazimierz (1882-1942) – Painter, graphic artist and art educator. He studied painting with Bronisława Rychter-Janowska in Stary Sącz, Kaczor-Batowski in Lviv, Feliks Michał Wygrzywalski, and Jan Stanisławski at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts; and graphic arts in Tyrowicz's courses. He was a co-founder of the Lviv Association of Graphic Artists. He painted mainly cityscapes.

Majewski Władysław (1881-1925) – He allegedly studied at Cracow School of Fine Arts, but there is no record of his studies there. The he studied at the Munich Academy under Johann Herterich. He became a member of the Munich Kunstverein. He spent World War I in Russia, and thereafter returned to Poland and settled in Sosnówka, from where he commuted to his studio in Warsaw. From 1921, he taught at Wojciech Gerson's Drawing Class in Warsaw. He painted portraits, landscapes and still lifes.

Makowski Tadeusz (1882-1932) – In 1902, he started a four-year curriculum of classical and Polish philology at the Faculty of Philosophy of the Jagiellonian University in Cracow; between 1903 and 1908, he also studied at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Józef Unierzyski and Jan Stanisławski (painting, from 1905 on) and Józef Mehoffer (drawing, from 1906 on). In late 1908 and early 1909 – with a view to more in-depth art studies – he went to Paris, where he spent the remainder of his life. In the Cracow period, he was influenced by his teachers, Mehoffer and Stanisławski. His works betrayed the artist's emotional attitude towards nature and mature sensitivity to colour. He also painted similar motifs and framed images in a way similar to that of his Master Stanisławski. In Paris, he came into contact with noted representatives of the avant-garde and he became a significant figure of the École de Paris group. Inspired by cubism and primitive painting, he developed his individual recognisable style. He was fond of painting children, figural and genre scenes, as well as French provincial landscapes (Brittany, Auvergne). He was also interested in wood engraving and metal techniques. He wrote poems and short stories, in addition to essays on painting and the theatre. In the years 1912-1931, he kept a diary, published in 1961. In Paris, apart from participation in collective exhibitions, he had individual ones (B. Weill's Gallery, 1927 and 1928). He took part in the Exhibition of Works of Professor Jan Stanisławski's *Students*, organised in 1907 as a posthumous tribute to the Master. He showed two of his oil paintings: *Sunflowers* and *My Room*.

Malczewski Jacek (1854-1929) – He studied at Cracow School of Fine Arts under Władysław Łuszczkiewicz, Feliks Szynalewski and Henryk Grabiński, and in the years 1875/1876 and 1877-1879 under Jan Matejko. In the academic year 1876/1877, he was Ernest Lehman's student in the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris. In the period 1884-1885, he participated in Karol Lanckroński's archaeological expedition to Asia Minor in the capacity of an illustrator. He spent the subsequent two years in Munich. He travelled to Italy several times. In the years 1896-1900, he lectured at Cracow School of Fine Arts; appointed to a professorial post, he returned to the now Academy to lecture there from 1910 to 1921, with a break during the war. Between 1912 and 1914, he held the Rector's office. In 1916, he settled down in Cracow, from where, over the years 1921-1926, he went to spend longer periods of time at Lusławice near Cracow and Charzewice near Zakliczyn. He was a co-founder and member of the following groups and societies: The Common Society of Polish Artists (since 1894), the Society of Polish Artists Sztuka, the Society of Polish Artists (1902), and the Zero Group (1908). He left over two thousand paintings. In the early phase of his career, inspired by Juliusz Słowacki's poetry and Artur Grottger's works, he painted scenes connected with the Polish martyrology after the January Uprising of 1863, treating them realistically and almost monochromatically in browns and greys. He returned to the theme of Siberian deportations several times later, but in a different formal convention. After 1890, his symbolism took a full form: the union of fantastic and naturalistic subjects is accompanied by a brightened, vivid colour spectrum, usually distinguished by a discordant juxtaposition of

hues. Self-portraits, quite common in his work, as well as portraits and genre compositions also tend to preserve the symbolic convention.

Malczewski Rafal (1892-1962) – He was Jacek Malczewski's son. In the years 1910-1962, he studied philosophy, architecture and painting in Vienna. Having returned to Poland, for some length of time, he attended Cracow Academy of Fine Arts, also following his father's instruction. In 1917, he moved to Zakopane. He was a member of the group Rytm. After the outbreak of World War II, he left for France, and then went to Brazil. He participated in numerous art exhibitions at home and abroad. He painted landscapes – before the war mostly of the Tatra Mountains and Silesia, after the war also of Brazil and Canada.

Malinowska-Gałęzowska Jadwiga (1876-1948) – She studied drawing first under Leon Wyczółkowski, and then at the Adrian Baraniecki Higher Courses for Women in Cracow, and around 1900, at Tola Certowicz's School of Fine Arts for Women in Cracow. She continued her artistic education under Simon Holossy in Munich and at the Académie Colarossi in Paris around 1903. In 1909, she returned to Poland – at first she stayed in Warsaw, then, in 1911 she settled down in Cracow, from where she travelled a lot abroad. She belonged to the association of Artists (ZAP) and the Association of Polish Women Artists. She painted chiefly landscapes and was also engaged in miniature painting.

Mann Aleksander (1869-1929) – Initially, he attended Wojciech Gerson's Drawing Class in Warsaw. Starting in 1896, he studied at Stanisław Grochowski's School of Drawing and Painting in Munich, which he then left for Rome. In 1899-1901, he studied at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Teodor Axentowicz and Jan Stanisławski. He lived in Konstancin. He was a member of the 'Odłam' (Fraction) Association of Artists (from 1910), and in 1919-1920 he was an editor of Wianki monthly. He exhibited his works at the Society for the Encouragement of Fine Arts in Warsaw and at Czesław Garliński's Salon. Initially, nearly all of his paintings were landscapes under Stanisławski's influence, and subsequently he focused on depicting historic architecture.

Marevna Maria (1892-1984) – She was the child of the Pole Bronisław Steblewski and a Jewish actress with the name Rozanowicz. She first studied in a secondary school in Tbilisi, and then enrolled in the Stroganow's School of Art Industry in Moscow. When in 1911 in Capri, she met Maxim Gorky, who gave her the artistic pseudonym Marevna. In 1912, she settled in Paris. When in 1914 her father committed a suicide, and she was left with no funds, Ilya Erenburg asked her to illustrate his poems. She studied at Académie Colarossi, and Académie Russe. She befriended Chaim Soutine, Modigliani, Zborowski and Foujita. She had a daughter with Diego Rivera. In the years 1936-1948, she lived in the south of France. In 1948, she settled in Britain. Between 1912 and 1920, she painted compositions inspired by Cubism, and after 1920, her work approached neo-impressionism, returning to Cubism after 1945. She painted mainly landscapes and left several diaries describing the artistic life of interwar Montparnasse.

Markowicz Artur (1872-1934) – Born and died in Cracow. Painter and graphic artist. In the years 1886-1895, he studied at Cracow School of Fine Arts under Władysław Łuszczkiewicz, Florian Cynk and Jan Matejko; then in Munich Academy with Franz Stuck; and in Paris with Jean-Léon Gérôme. He belonged to the Society of Polish Artists Sztuka and the Society of the Friends of Fine Arts in Cracow. He was also the chairman of the Jewish Society for the

Propagation of Fine Arts. He painted predominantly pastel townscapes and Jewish genre scenes.

Maslowski Stanisław (1853-1926) – He studied in Wojciech Gerson's Drawing Class in Warsaw. Thereafter, he made yearly trips to plein-air locations, among other places, the Ukraine (1875-1886). In 1886, he stayed in Munich. He painted mainly oil and watercolour landscapes.

Mehoffer Józef (1869-1946) – From 1887 on he studied at Cracow School of Fine Arts – at the same time – law at the Jagiellonian University. A scholarship enabled him to go to Paris, where he continued his studies at the École Nationale Supérieure des Arts Decoratifs, the Académie Colarossi, and the École des Beaux-Arts (in Leon Bonnant's studio). His sightseeing tours of Germany, Switzerland and France were connected with his fascination with Gothic cathedrals. In Paris, for a while he shared a studio with Stanisław Wyspiański, working together on stained-glass window designs for the presbytery of St Mary's Basilica in Cracow; they also visited museums and exhibitions together and took part in the same competitions (e.g. for the curtain of the Słowacki Theatre in Cracow, 1891, and the stained-glass window for the Latin Cathedral in Lviv, 1894). In 1895, he won an international competition for stained-glass windows for the Gothic St Nicholas Collegiate Church in Fribourg, Switzerland. He completed his work on them in 1936. He was a founding member of the Society of Polish Artists Sztuka. He took part in a number of international exhibitions, e.g. in Vienna, Berlin, Paris, Munich, Venice, and London. In 1900, he was appointed associate professor of decorative and religious painting at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts; he was the rector of that school three times. He practiced monumental and easel painting, mostly portraits and landscapes, he was also involved in printmaking, designed stage sets, interior decorations and furniture. The works of Puvis de Chavannes and James Abbott McNeill Whistler, encounters with Impressionism, Symbolism and the art of the Nabis were all important for the development of his art between 1891 and 1895. The artist's mature style was developed between 1895 and 1914 (Young Poland period), and it was then that his best works were made: ambient, decorative compositions saturated with symbolic content, among them his manifesto work *The Strange Garden*. After 1914, brightened his palette, replaced the former flat decorative stains with vibrating texture, and began to paint pictures that affirmed the joy of life, the beauty of nature and a fleeting ephemeral moment. He left a journal covering the years 1891 through 1897, and also published his *Uwagi o sztuce i jej stosunku do natury* (Remarks on Art and Its Relation to Nature)

Menkes Zygmunt (1896-1986) – From 1912, he studied at the School of Artistic Industry in Lviv, and in the years 1919-1922, at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts. During World War I, he restored paintings in churches from the Lviv region. After the war, he took part in the artistic life of Lviv, associated with The Circle of Friends of Jewish Art. In 1922, he left for Berlin, where he studied at the private school of Alexander Archipenko. Here he befriended Alfred Aberdam, Joachim Weingart, and Leon Weissberg. In 1923, he exhibited in Berlin together with Aberdam and Artur Nacht-Samborski. In 1923, he arrived in Paris, but because of lack of funds, was forced to return to Lviv. Soon he went to Paris again, making friends with Chagall, Piscine, Soutine, and Zak. He belonged to the group New Generation, and Zwornik, and exhibited in numerous venues in Europe. Initially, he painted Jewish types and genre scenes inspired by Jan Stanisławski's work. In Berlin, under the influence of Cubism, Archipenko and Lovis Corinth, he painted expressive works with monumental forms. In Paris

he made genre scenes, symbolic and religious works, portraits, nudes, landscapes and still lifes.

Merkel Jerzy (1881-1979) – After a short stay in Munich, he began studies at the Architecture department of Lviv Polytechnic, when he became an activist in the Jewish Youth movement. In the years 1903-1907, he studied at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Józef Mehoffer, when he joined the circle of Jewish artists gathered around Samuel Hirszenberg. In 1906, and 1909-1914, he stayed in Paris. During World War I, he served in the Austrian army as a painter, and becoming wounded he left the army in 1917, but continued to live in Vienna until 1938, thereafter moving to Paris, where he stayed until 1972. His last years were spent in Vienna. He was a member of the Viennese groups: Künstlerbund Hagen, Hagenbund, and Secession. His first works display an inspiration from Mehoffer and Wyspiański. Between 1909 and 1914, he painted Old Testament themes, landscapes, portraits, still lifes and idyllic scenes akin to those of Zak. In the years 1917-1921, he made paintings inspired by Impressionism and the work of Renoir.

Mien Klementyna (1870-1954) – Painter and photographer; she first studied in the Industrial School in Cracow, then painting under Józef Siedlecki at Adrian Baraniecki's Higher Courses for Women in Cracow, and later with Stanisław Bryll and Józef Mehoffer. Between 1900 and 1903, she studied at École des Beaux-Arts in Paris. She lived in Cracow and Bochnia (1934-1950), running photographic shops in both locations. In 1950, she left for France, where she died. She painted mainly portraits.

Mierzejewski Jacek (1882-1925) – Painter, graphic artist and draughtsman. Initially, he studied at the Kuehn School of Technology in Warsaw but in 1904, he began education at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Florian Cynk and Józef Mehoffer. He worked with the satirical magazine *Abdera*. In 1917, he joined the Polish Expressionists group. He was also a member of the Jednoróg (Unicorn) Guild of Visual Artists, designed toys and Christmas ornaments, illustrated books and manuals, and painted portraits and still lifes.

Mikolasch Henryk (1872-1931) – He studied pharmacology and chemistry at the Lviv University, and subsequently – in 1905 and 1906 – painting at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Jan Stanisławski. His main field was photography, which he practiced with passion all his life. In the years 1903-1910, he was President of the Lviv Photographic Society, and in 1930 he became a member of the Board of the Polish Photo Club; between 1921 and 1931, he was Supervisor of the Photography Institute at the Lviv Polytechnic University. He wrote over fifty articles on photography. His activity, similar to that of Jan Bułak, laid the foundations for contemporary Polish photography. He painted landscapes and studies of wild animals, based on several hundred photographs taken in the years 1907-1914 with a camera of his own design.

Milich Adolf (1884-1964) – Having grown up in Łódź in central Poland, around the age of thirteen, he left school and began painting. Then, he ran away to Warsaw, where he began studies at Warsaw School of Fine Arts. During that time he received help from Stanisław Słonimski, the famous doctor and father of Antoni. In 1904, thanks to a grant, he went to Munich, where he studied at the Academy there under Franz Stuck. Then he met Jules Pissone, who convinced him to go to Paris. Only in 1919, he spent several months in Paris, studying at Académie Castellucio, and from 1920, he settled there for good. From 1922, he belonged to

the association of Polish Painters and Sculptors in Paris, and exhibited in numerous venues in Europe, American and Jerusalem. Initially, he copied old masters, then becoming inspired by Cézanne's painting. He painted landscapes, portraits and still lifes. From 1954 he was paralysed and often painted with his left hand.

Mińska-Golińska Irena (1904-1980) – Painter and graphic artist; she studied at Warsaw School of Fine Arts (1926-1928), and then fresco painting with Blanca Mercere (1928-1930) and graphic arts with Zofia Stankiewicz. She was also involved with applied arts: ceramics, metalwork, and textile design.

Misky Ludwik (1884-1938) – In the years 1902-1910, he studied painting at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Florian Cynk, Leon Wyczółkowski, Józef Mehoffer and Jan Stanisławski. At the same time he studied philosophy and art history at the Jagiellonian University. Subsequently, he spent some time studying in Paris, Dresden, Leipzig, Berlin, Vienna, and in Italy. He started working in educational institutions in 1907. Initially, he taught drawing in the First Primary School in Cracow; in 1927, he was appointed Head of the Department of Vocational Schools at the Cracow District Educational Authority. He wrote articles on vocational education, visual arts and aesthetics; he collaborated with the Cracow-based monthly magazine *Rzeczy Piękne* (Beautiful Things). He took an active part in the artistic life and his works featured in a number of exhibitions. He was a friend of the author Emil Zegadłowicz. The Emil Zegadłowicz Museum in Gorzeń Górny near Wadowice holds the largest collection of the artist's paintings, watercolours and drawings. He painted primarily landscapes inspired by Stanisławski's work, but also portraits, still lifes and flowers.

Młodzianowski Kazimierz (1880-1928) – Painter and interior designer. He studied at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow (1901) and Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Józef Mehoffer, Józef Pankiewicz and Stanisław Dębicki (1901-1913). He belonged to the Architecture, Sculpture, Painting and Craft association (ARMiR), and the *Lad* association. He also belonged to Cracow Workshops.

Mniszech Andrzej Jerzy (1823-1905) – Painter and art collector born into an aristocratic family; he spent his youth between Wiśniowiec and Paris, but in 1854, moved to Paris for good. He studied painting with Leon Cogniet and Jean Gigoux. In Paris, he became interested in the arts of East Asia, which he avidly collected. He painted mainly portraits and still lifes.

Mondral Karol (1880-1957) – He studied at Wojciech Gerson's Drawing Class in Warsaw, and then at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Leon Wyczółkowski. In 1902, he went to Paris to further his graphic skills. In 1922, he returned to Poland and became the director of the National School of Graphic Industry in Bydgoszcz. He spent the Second World War in Warsaw, and in 1945, moved to Poznań. He educated generations of Polish Graphic artists.

Muter Mela (1879-1976) – She was the daughter of a rich Warsaw merchant Fabian Klingsland. After completing secondary education, she attended drawing and music lessons (1892-1899). In 1899, she married Michał Muttermilch, a writer and art critic. The same year, she studied at the Miłosz Kotarbiński School of Drawing and Painting for Women. From 1901, she lived for good in Paris, where she continued her education at Académie Colarossi and Académie de la Grande-Chaumière. She considered herself self-taught though. She spent her summers in Brittany, where she visited Władysław Ślewiński. Before World War I, she kept close relations with the literary and artistic Polish circle, including Leopold Staff,

Władysław Reymont, Stefan Żeromski, and Leopold Gottlieb. In the years 1917-1920, she was attached to the famous socialist activist Raymond Lefebvre, and then she was the last partner of Reiner Maria Rilke. In 1927, she became a French citizen. During World War II, she was hiding in Avignon, where she taught art in a school. In 1945, she returned to Paris. Initially, she painted symbolist landscapes, portraits and figural compositions. In Paris, her work approached that of the Pont-Aven school. In the interwar period, she was one of the most popular portrait artists in Paris.

Nacht-Samborski Artur (1898-1974) – Painter, educator, professor of the National Academy of Fine Arts in Gdansk (1947-1949), where he led the Department of Painting and Architecture, which led to the Painting Studio and Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw (in the years 1949-1969). In the years 1917-1920 he studied at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Wojciech Weiss and Felicjan Kowarski, then stayed in Berlin and Vienna. In 1924, associated with the Kapists, he went to Paris and stayed there until 1939. He painted still lifes, landscapes and acts.

Nehring Maciej (1901-1977) – Painter, working mainly in watercolour, and graphic artist. From 1920, he studied at the Municipal Drawing School in Warsaw, and later in the National School of Graphic Industry in Bydgoszcz (1921-1923) and Cracow (1923-1924), as well as at Warsaw School of Fine Arts (1924-1928). He painted mostly landscapes and portraits.

Neumann Abraham (1873-1942) – Born in Sierpc in Masovia, in 1891, he moved to Warsaw, where he supported himself by painting portraits based on photographs. In 1897, he began his studies in Jacek Malczewski's atelier at the School of Fine Arts in Cracow, thanks to financial support from the landed gentleman Romuald Cisłowski. Already after the first semester, he received two Silver and two Brown Medals. In 1900, he left for Paris, where he spent three months at the Académie Julian in Jean-Paul Lorrain's atelier. He discontinued his studies there due to lack of funds. In 1901 and 1902, he continued at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Leon Wyczółkowski and Jan Stanisławski. He travelled extensively in England, Belgium, the Netherlands and Germany. He visited Palestine twice (1904 and 1926-1927), where he taught at the Bezalel Academy of Art and Design, founded in 1906 by Boris (Brauch) Schatz. He finally took up residence in Zakopane. He was murdered by Germans during the deportation of Jews from the Cracow Ghetto. He painted landscapes of the Holy Land, the Cracow region and Zakopane. He took part in the Exhibition of Works of Professor *Jan Stanisławski's Students*, organised in 1907 as a posthumous tribute to the Master. He showed two of his oil paintings: *Autumn* and *A Forest Stream*.

Niedzielska Maria (1876-1947) – She started studying drawing and painting in the Kiev branch of the St Petersburg Academy of Fine Arts, and continued her training at Tola Certowicz's School of Fine Arts for Women in Cracow. She completed her education in Munich, in Simon Hollósy's school, at the Parisian Académie Colarossi and in Konrad Krzyżanowski's painting school in Warsaw. In 1908, she founded the School of Fine Arts for Women in Cracow, thus creating competition for the Academy there, which at the time did not admit women. Since 1917, she belonged to the Association of Polish Women Artists in Lviv. She painted landscapes, still lifes, portraits, all in a realistic manner.

Nowakowski Aleksy (1872-1935) – He started learning painting in Odessa, under the painter F. F. Klimenko. In 1892, he enrolled at Cracow School of Fine Arts, where he studied with an

intermission (1892-1893) and dropped out during the second semester of 1893-1894. He enrolled again in 1895, and joined Józef Unierzyski's and Leon Wyczółkowski's ateliers (in 1898). He continued his studies till 1904; his tutors included Julian Fałat, Teodor Axentowicz and Jan Stanisławski, among others. He was a friend of Jacek Malczewski. His academic achievement was recognised three times with a Silver Medal and – in 1900 – a Gold Medal. In 1900-1913, he lived in Mogiła, a village near Cracow. In 1913, invited by the Metropolitan of the Greek Catholic Church, Andriy Sheptytsky (Andrzej Szeptycki), he moved to Lviv for good. Under his influence, the artist strived to endow his work with the Ukrainian national character. He depicted the heroes of Ukrainian legends and painted Ukrainian historical figures. Initially, he painted small landscapes in oil, genre scenes, and portraits; his landscapes feature motifs known from Stanisławski's works (e.g. Thistles). He took part in the *Exhibition of Works of Professor Jan Stanisławski's Students*, organised in 1907 as a posthumous tribute to the Master. He showed one of his oil paintings: *In the Fields*.

Okolowicz Norbert (1890-?) – Painter and designer of textiles. He studied at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Leon Wyczółkowski and Stanisław Dębicki (1908-1913). He was a soldier with the Polish Legions. Between 1913 and 1914, he directed the dyeing and batik studio at Cracow Workshops. After retirement, he was interested in Polish folklore.

Okuń Edward (1872-1945) – He studied under Wojciech Gerson's tutorship in the Drawing School (1890-1891), then at Cracow School of Fine Arts under Izydor Jabłoński (1891-1893). In 1893, he left for Munich, where he carried on his training in Stanisław Grocholski's and Anton Ažbe's private schools. In the same year, he moved to Paris, where he studied in succession in the ateliers of Benjamin Constant, Rafael Collin and Jean Paul Laurens. In 1895, he returned to Warsaw only to go back, the next year to Paris and Munich, where he became a student of Simons Hollósy's, with whom he spent a couple of months in Hungary. In 1898, he settled in Italy, from where he returned to Warsaw for good only in 1921. In the period 1925-1930, he acted as a professor of the Warsaw School of Fine Arts. He painted symbolic compositions, portraits and landscapes; he was also a graphic artist.

Olszewski Marian (1881-1915) – Painter, graphic artist, interior designer, art critic. In his work he depicted a realm of fantastical creatures.

Osostowicz Stanisław (1906-1939) – Between 1921 and 1927, he studied at the State School of Artistic Industry in Lviv and from 1927 to 1932 at Cracow academy of Fine Arts under Władysław Jarocki and Fryderyk Pautsch. He was connected with the Cracow Group. Apart from painting, he practiced graphic arts and scenography, and was associated with The Cricot Theatre in Cracow.

Pankiewicz Józef (1866-1940) – He was born into an intelligentsia family. From 1884 to 1885, he was enrolled in the Drawing Class taught by Wojciech Gerson and Aleksander Kamiński, and in the autumn of 1885 he left for St Petersburg to spend six months at the Academy (studying the works of old masters, whose paintings influenced the development his painting). Between 1886 and 1889, he kept close contacts with a group of Naturalists – men of letters, musicians and painters – associated with *Wędrowiec* magazine. In 1889, together with Władysław Podkowiński, he spent some time in Paris, where he encountered the art of the Impressionists. The two artists exhibited their impressionist paintings in Warsaw in 1890 and 1891, but they were received with reluctance by both the critics and the public,

unprepared for their novelty. Discouraged such lack of understanding, Pankiewicz began to paint nocturnal, symbolic compositions. He lived in Warsaw at the time, making frequent trips abroad, mostly to France and Italy. In 1906, he became a professor at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts. He lived in Cracow till 1914, spending summers in France. In 1908, he became friends with Pierre Bonnard. He spent World War I in Spain, and subsequently lived in Paris till 1923. After some time in Cracow, where he resumed his duties at the Academy, he moved to Paris for good in 1925, where he set up and managed a branch of the Cracow Academy. In 1897, he joined the Sztuka Society of Polish Artists, he was also a member of the society of Polish Artist in Paris, the Union of Polish Artists in France, the 'Manes' Association of Fine Artists in Prague (from 1928 on). In 1927, he received the Legion of Honour from the French Government, and in 1933 – to celebrate forty years of his work as an artist – the Commodore Cross of the Polonia Restituta Order from the Polish Government. He took parts in numerous collective exhibitions at home and abroad; the most important of his individual exhibitions was definitely the one organised by Félix Fénéon at the Galerie Bernheim-Jeune in Paris (1922). His students, who wished to move to Paris as a group (1924), formed a Parisian Committee (1923). In 1925, they set up a branch of Cracow academy of Fine Arts in Paris, which Pankiewicz headed till 1930. He developed his own teaching methodology, stimulating sensitivity to colour and form in his students, and underscoring the importance of studying old paintings and gaining knowledge of the history of art, but above all he imparted to them his love of French art. Some of his most notable students were: Józef Czapski, Jan Cybis, Moïse Kisling, and Simon Mondzian. An artist of versatile talent, he drew easily on the achievements and experience of masters representing various movements. He painted portraits, still lifes and genre scenes. He was also involved in decorative painting – between 1928 and 1932, he made panneaux for the Royal Chapel at Wawel Castle. As a printmaker, he preferred etching and dry point. Next to Leon Wyczółkowski, he was Poland's most prominent print artist of the first half of the 20th century. His work continued to evolve from naturalist compositions to impressionist and postimpressionist studies to cubist and fauvist paintings, rendered as decorative combinations of pure colours. In the 1920s and 1930s, he turned toward classic art, full of moderation and harmony.

Pautsch Fryderyk (1877-1950) – Painter; he studied at the Jan Casimir University in Lviv and the Jagiellonian University in Cracow. In 1900-1906, he continued education at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Józef Unierzyski and Leon Wyczółkowski. In 1906, he settled in Lviv, and in 1925 took the position of a painting professor at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts. Member of the Society of Polish Artists Sztuka, the Polish Applied Arts Association, the Viennese Hagenbund and the Société Nationale des Beaux Arts in Paris. He painted genre scenes of Hutsul themes and portraits. His media included graphic design: he designed books, vignettes and posters.

Piekarski Florian (1868-1919) – He joined Wojciech Gerson's Drawing Class, and between 1899 and 1904 studied painting at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Leon Wyczółkowski and Jan Stanisławski. During that time, he received three Silver Medals. After graduation, he moved to Warsaw, where he became a member of the Society for the Encouragement of Fine Arts. His debut took place at that Society's building in 1905, where he exhibited 42 pictures. He painted landscapes and views of architecture from areas around Cracow, Warsaw, and Kazimierz Dolny – small-sized and very subtle.

Piekelny Robert (1904-1986) – He grew up in Russian, and studied painting, sculpture and architecture in a school in Moscow. He studied with Ilya Makow and Taras Szewczenko. In 1923, he arrived in Paris. During World War II, he was hiding in the south of France, and thereafter he returned to Paris. His paintings depicted mainly the interiors of hotels, artists' ateliers and circus scenes. He wrote and drew for numerous magazines.

Pieńkowski Ignacy (1877-1948) – Around 1892, he joined Wojciech Gerson's Drawing Class in Warsaw, and then between 1895 and 1898, he studied painting at Cracow School of Fine Arts under Teodor Axentowicz, Leon Wyczółkowski, and briefly Jan Stanisławski. In 1898, he went to Munich, then to Paris, Rome, and Brittany. In 1925, he travelled to Brazil. Between 1909 and 1914, he was a professor at Warsaw Academy of Fine Arts, and in 1918-1939 at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts. He was a member of the Society of Polish Artists Sztuka. His early works were symbolical; he is known for his portraits and still lifes featuring flowers. He also painted landscapes of the Podhale region and the Tatra Mountains. He was also involved in stage design and print art.

Podgórski Stanisław (1882-1964) – He studied painting at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts (1901-1909) under Florian Cynk, Leon Wyczółkowski, Józef Pankiewicz and Jan Stanisławski, and also at the Académie Colarossi in Paris. From there, he went to Brittany, then visited Italy, Switzerland, Germany, Sweden, Caucasus, and Crimea. In 1908, he became a member of the Society of Polish Artists Sztuka. In 1911 and 1912, he taught landscape painting at Maria Niedzielska's Art School of Women in Cracow. Between the world wars, he lived in Warsaw and Cracow interchangeably. He painted mostly Tatra landscapes inspired by Stanisławski's work. He took part in the *Exhibition of Works of Professor Jan Stanisławski's Students*, organised in 1907 as a posthumous tribute to the Master. He showed six of his oil paintings: *From Brittany*, *A Jewish Street*, *Birch Grove*, *Snow in the Sun*, *Reverie*, and *A Landscape*.

Podkowiński Władysław (1866-1895) – He was a student of Wojciech Gerson's and Aleksander Kamiński's in the Warsaw Class of Drawing (1880-1884). In 1885, he left for St Petersburg for a year to continue his studies at the Academy of Fine Arts there. In 1889, he stayed in Paris for almost a year in the company of Józef Pankiewicz. After their return to Poland, both artists put on display the paintings made in Paris at the Varsovian gallery of Krywult. This exhibition became a historic event in the development of Polish Impressionism. Podkowiński settled in Warsaw and in 1884 started to cooperate as an illustrator with the periodicals *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, *Wędrowiec* and *Kłos*. He spent summer vacations in the estates of his friends: Mokra Wieś, Chresne, Bidziny and Sobótka. He painted landscapes, portraits, genre scenes and symbolic compositions. His untimely death put an end to an interestingly developing career.

Procajłowicz Antoni (1879-1949) – Painter and graphic artist. He studied at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Florian Cynk and Jacek Malczewski, and later at the Scuola Libera in Florence. He cofounded the Society of Polish Applied Arts. He practiced landscape painting and applied graphics, designed book covers and posters. He cooperated with the periodicals *Życie*, *Chochół*, and *Młodość*. He drew cartoons and painted church murals. In 1908, he became a professor of painting in the State Industrial School in Cracow. He exhibited with the Society of the Friends of Fine Arts in Cracow. He sat on the board of the Association of Polish Artists. In the years 1915-1917, he worked in the Central Publishing

Bureau of the High National Committee. In 1920, he became a professor in the Decorative School in Bydgoszcz. In 1925, he was awarded the silver medal in the Poster Section at the International Exhibition of Decorative Arts in Paris.

Pronaszko Zbigniew (1885-1958) – He was a brother of the painter and stage designer Andrzej Pronaszko. Initially, he studied at the Kiev School of Fine Arts, and then at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Jacek Malczewski and Teodor Axentowicz (1906-1911). Related to the group of Polish expressionists, the future Formists, he was a member of the Association of Artists 'Keystone'. From 1926 to 1927, he belonged to the Society of Polish Artist Sztuka. He lectured as a professor at the Stefan Batory University in Vilnius, in the Free School of Painting and Drawing of Ludwika and Wilhelm Mehoffer's and afterwards at the Academy of Fine Arts in Cracow.

Puacz Józef (1863-1927) – He studied at Cracow School of Fine Arts (1884-1889) and then for two years in Munich, and thereafter taught in schools in Piaseczno and Piotrków Trybunalski. He painted genre scenes and portraits.

Puffke Marian (1888-1925) – He studied at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Teodor Axentowicz and Józef Pankiewicz, and was a member of Poznań Artists Association. He painted mainly impressionistic landscapes.

Rakowski Mieczysław (1882-1947) – He studied at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Florian Cynk, Józef Pankiewicz, Leon Wyczółkowski and Teodor Axentowicz (1905-1911). He immigrated to Belgium.

Rosen Jan (1854-1936) – Born and died in Warsaw; a painter. He studied in Dresden, Munich and Paris. He painted battle scenes and drew illustrations for Tygodnik Ilustrowany.

Rubczak Jan (1884-1942) – He studied at Cracow academy of Fine Arts under Florian Cynk and Józef Pankiewicz (1904-1911); the Akademie für Graphische Künste und Buchgewerbe in Leipzig and at the Académie Colarossi in Paris. In 1917, he started to direct his own graphic school in Paris. Then, he moved to Cracow, where he taught graphics at Ludwika and Wilhelm Mehoffer's Free School of Painting and Drawing and worked as an assistant in the department of graphics of the academy of Fine Arts (1931-1932). He was a member of the Society of Polish Artists Sztuka, and a co-founder of both the Artists' Guild 'Unicorn' and the Society of Polish Artists in Paris. He was a painter and graphic artist interested in landscape subjects, portraits and still lifes.

Ruszczyc Ferdynand (1890-1936) – He studied law in St Petersburg and later (1892-1897) painting at the St Petersburg Academy under Ivan Shishkin and Archip Kuindzi. As a student he travelled to the Crimea and to the Baltic Sea. In 1898, following his graduation, in the company of Kuindzi and a group of his students, he made an artistic journey to Germany, France, Italy, Switzerland and Vienna. After his return, he settled in Bohdanów. In the years 1904-1907, he acted as a professor at Warsaw School of Fine Arts, and in 1907, he took over for two years the department of landscape painting at Cracow academy of Fine Arts. In 1919, he engaged himself in the organization of the Faculty of Fine Arts at the Stefan Batory University in Vilnius, and became a professor thereof the same year. In 1921 and 1929, he travelled to Paris and in 1930 to Hungary. He was a member of the Society of Polish Artists Sztuka since 1909, of the Society for the Encouragement of Fine Arts in Warsaw, and an

honorary member of the Society of Friends of Arts and Sciences in Vilnius. He was chiefly a landscapist. Besides painting, he occupied himself with stage design and applied graphics.

Rychter Tadeusz (1873-1943) – In the years 1895-1896, he studied at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Teodor Axentowicz, then in Munich, again in Cracow (under Józef Unierzyski), and in Paris. From 1902 he lived in Cracow. He was associated to the Green Balloon Cabaret. He painted mostly landscapes, designed posters and book-plates. From 1907 he belonged to the para-Masonic theosophical lodge. The same year, together with Henryk Szczygliński, he organised an experimental studio. He served in the Polish Legions.

Rychter-Janowska Bronisława (1872-1953) – In 1896 and in the years 1898-1901, she studied in Munich under Anton Ažbe and Simon Holossy; she completed her education at the Academy in Florence in 1904 and in Rome. Jan Stanisławski was also her tutor. Around 1909-1910, she conducted a private school of painting at Stary Sącz. She belonged to the Association of Polish Women Artists in Lviv. She was married to Tadeusz Rychter, a painter and graphic artist. Her creation consisted of landscapes, genre scenes, portraits, and interiors (most frequently of Polish manor houses).

Rzecki-Szreniawa Stanisław (1888-1972) – Sculptor, painter, stage designer and caricaturist. In 1903-1908, he studied at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts, painting under Teodor Axentowicz, Julian Fałat and Stanisław Wyspiański, and sculpture under Konstanty Laszczka, polishing his talents in Paris (1909). One of the most gifted caricaturists that gathered around the Green Balloon Cabaret, he produced the cabaret's decorations and puppets for the New Year's Day satirical shows. *Melpomene's Portfolio*, which was published in 1904, featured a selection of his theatre caricatures. The periodicals he contributed to included *Liberum Veto*, the satirical and political magazine *Hrabia Wojtek* (1905), the art weekly *Czarny Kot* (1906), Cracow-published *Museion* (ca. 1911-1913), as well as the Warsaw satirical magazines *Sowizdrzał* (ca. 1912) and *Diabeł*. During World War I, he served in the Polish Legions and was a member of the Visual Arts Club of the Research Institute of the Legions in Warsaw. A founding member of the Rytm Association of Visual Artists and the Ryt group, in 1926 – together with Borowski and Czajkowski – he set up the Institute of Visual Arts, and in 1930 took an active part in organising the Institute of Art Propaganda. In 1934, his works were on view at the 19th Art Biennale in Venice. After World War II, he lived in Cracow, and then moved to Wrocław, where his chief line of work was sculpture.

Rzegociński Witold (1883-1969) – In 1899-1903, he was a student at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Józef Unierzyski, Jacek Malczewski, Konstanty Laszczka and Jan Stanisławski. In 1903, he went to Paris, where he continued his studies at the *École Nationale et Spéciale des Beaux-Arts*. He came back to Cracow in 1906 and stayed here for good. Between 1909 and 1919, he worked successively as a stained glass maker, art consultant and designer at Żeleński's Stained Glass Window and Mosaic Studio, and collaborated with A. Pruszyński Artistic Lithography Studio. In 1913, he began teaching at the State School of Industry and the Adrian Baraniecki Higher Education Courses for Women in Cracow (1916-1919), and later, starting in 1922, at the State School of Decorative Arts and Artistic Industry; he also taught perspective, artistic anatomy and live drawing at the State Institute of Plastic Arts. In the 1930s, he was a professor at Alfred Terlecki's private school. Starting in 1907, he took part in a number of exhibitions, notably at the Friends of the Arts Society in Cracow

(1909) and at the Universal Exhibition of Polish Art in Lviv (1913). He painted genre scenes, portraits, but mostly Tatra landscapes.

Samlicki Marcin (1878-1945) – Starting in 1900, he studied history at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow, and at the same time studied painting at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Józef Unierzyski, Józef Mehoffer (from 1906), Jacek Malczewski (from 1911) and Jan Stanisławski. He co-founded the famous Green Balloon Cabaret in Cracow. In 1908, he went on a sightseeing tour of Italy, visiting Rome, Naples and Florence. In 1910, he spent some time in France (Paris and Brittany). He was one of the founders of the Society for the Care of Polish Artists in France. In 1911, he worked as a teacher at St. Hyacinth's School, and then St. Ann's High School in Cracow. In 1912, he went to Paris again, and stayed there till 1929. When he came back to Poland, he lived in Bochnia. He was an editor of *Głos Plastyków* monthly and in 1936 began to teach history of contemporary painting at Cracow academy of Fine Arts. His legacy includes a valuable art collection and a diary, which he donated to Stanisław Fischer Museum in Bochnia. He painted portraits and landscapes. He took part in the *Exhibition of Works of Professor Jan Stanisławski's Students*, organised in 1907 as a posthumous tribute to the Master. He showed three of his oil paintings: Afternoon, A Stream in Zakopane and A Forest Pond.

Schulz Bruno (1892-1942) – Writer, artist, literary critic and art teacher born to Jewish parents, and regarded as one of the great Polish-language prose stylists of the 20th century. Schulz was born in Drohobycz, in the province of Galicia then part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and spent most of his life there. He was killed by a German Nazi officer. At a very early age, he developed an interest in the arts. He attended school in Drohobycz from 1902 to 1910, after which he studied architecture at Lviv Polytechnic. His studies were interrupted by illness in 1911 but he resumed them in 1913 after two years of convalescence. In 1917, he briefly studied architecture in Vienna. After World War I, the region of Galicia, which included Drohobycz, returned to Poland. Schulz taught drawing in a Polish school from 1924 to 1941. His employment kept him in his hometown, although he disliked his profession as a teacher, apparently maintaining it only because it was his sole means of income. He developed his extraordinary imagination in a swarm of identities and nationalities; a Jew who thought and wrote in Polish, was fluent in German, immersed in Jewish culture, yet unfamiliar with the Yiddish language. Yet there was nothing cosmopolitan about him; his genius fed in solitude on specific local and ethnic sources. He preferred not to leave his provincial hometown, which over the course of his life belonged to four countries; the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Poland, the Soviet Union, and Nazi Germany. His adult life was often perceived by outsiders as that of a hermit, uneventful and enclosed. In his visual art, he represented a grotesque world akin to Kafka's writings.

Seidenbeutl Efraim and **Seidenbeutl Menasze** (1902-1945) – Twin brothers born in Warsaw in a poor Jewish family. Their father, Abram was a bookkeeper and textile trader. From 1921, they studied painting at the Municipal School of Decorative Arts in Warsaw. In autumn 1923, Menasze was admitted to the Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw to study painting and drawing; from 1924 on the list of students also figured Ephraim. Their teachers were: Tadeusz Pruszkowski, Władysław Skoczylas and Wojciech Jastrzębowski. The brothers often created jointly by painting figural compositions, and portraits and landscapes. In 1931 or 1932, they went to study abroad in France, Germany and Belgium.

Sichulski Kazimierz (1879-1942) – Painter and cartoonist. He studied law at the Jan Kazimierz University in Lviv, and then painting at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Józef Mehoffer, Stanisław Wyspiański, and Leon Wyczółkowski. He was a member of the Society of Polish Artists Sztuka (from 1905) and of the Viennese Hagenbund (1906-1921). He was fascinated by the folk art of the Podhale and Hutsul highlanders. He painted symbolic compositions, drew cartoons and collaborated with the periodicals *Chochół*, *Liberum Veto*, and *Naprzód*. He was associated with the Green Balloon Cabaret, and painted portraits of Cracovian actors. In 1907, he moved to Lviv. He exhibited with the Society of the Friends of Fine Arts in Cracow. He served in the Polish Legions. In 1930, he became a professor of evening drawing classes at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts.

Siedlecki Franciszek (1867-1934) – Painter and graphic artist, theatre designer, art critic and theatre scholar representing the trend of symbolism and Art Nouveau. He graduated in law at the Jagiellonian University. In 1893, he studied art at the Academy of Fine Arts in Munich. From 1894, he continued his artistic studies at the Académie Colarossi in Paris. He worked as an illustrator with an elite magazine *Chimera*. In 1910, he became the supervision of the graphic magazine *Sphinx* and in 1911 the artistic director of the magazine *Art*.

Sięstrzeńcewicz Stanisław Bohusz (1869-1927) – Between 1888 and 1894, he studied at St Petersburg Academy under B.P. Willewaldi, then in Paris at the Académie Julian. In Munich, he befriended Józef Brandt. In 1900, he settled in Warsaw, and in 1919 taught painting at the University of Vilnius. He painted mainly genre scenes and portraits.

Skoczylas Władysław (1883-1934) – Graphic artist, painter and sculptor. He studied at the Kunstgewerbeschule in Vienna and in the years 1904-1906 at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts. He was trained as a wood-engraver in Paris and at the Academy of Graphic Arts in Leipzig. From 1933, he was a professor at the Warsaw School of Fine Arts. He belonged to the Polish Formists, cofounded the groups *Ryt* and *Rytm*, and the Institute for the Propagation of Art. He created many woodcuts, in which he referred to the Podhale region art and to medieval graphic art.

Skotnicki Jan (1876-1968) – Painter and printmaker; initially, he studied at the Warsaw School of Drawing, then went on to St Petersburg Academy in 1898-1899 and subsequently to Cracow Academy of Fine Arts, after which he went back to St Petersburg and the Paris. He spent the years 1905-1917 in Cracow and Zakopane, where he ran the Kilim Weaving Workshops, for which he designed kilims and toys. In 1917, he moved to Warsaw.

Stabrowski Kazimierz (1869-1929) – Painter; born into a landed gentry family. Between 1887 and 1897, he studied at St Petersburg Academy under Pavel Czistiakov. In 1893, he made a study trip to Beirut, Palestine, Odessa, Greece and Egypt. In the years 1897-1898, he studied at Académie Julian in Paris. In 1903, he settled in Warsaw, and in 1904, became the first director of Warsaw School of Fine Arts. Between 1903 and 1913, he travelled to France, Germany, Sweden, Spain, Italy, Morocco, Norway and the Canary Islands. He painted figural compositions, illustrated legends, made historical paintings, landscapes and portraits.

Stanisławski Jan (1860-1907) – He graduated from the department of mathematics at the Warsaw University and pursued his studies in the Technological Institute in St Petersburg.

After half a year, he returned to Warsaw only to take up painting in Wojciech Gerson's Class of Drawing. In the years 1884-1885, he studied painting at Cracow School of Fine Arts under Władysław Łuszczkiewicz. He proceeded with his training as a painter in Paris in the atelier of Carolus Duran (1885-1888). From 1888 to 1895, he worked independently in Paris, when he made friends with Józef Chełmoński. He undertook numerous artistic travels to Italy, Spain, Switzerland, Germany, Austria, Bohemia, and several times to the Ukraine. In 1895, he left for Berlin, where he collaborated with Wojciech Kossak on the panorama *The Crossing of the Berezina*. In 1896 in Lviv, he painted landscape fragments for Jan Styka's panorama *Golgotha*. In 1897, he came to live in Cracow, where he took over the department of landscape painting, reopened after a twenty-year break, at Cracow School of Fine Arts. He was one of the founders of the Society of Polish Artists *Sztuka*, and since 1901, a member of the Society of Polish applied Art. He painted almost exclusively landscapes and during his ten-year long pedagogical tenure, educated about sixty students, thus creating the so-called 'Stanisławski school'. He was also engaged in producing graphic art and illustrations, as well as designing posters and stage decorations.

Stankiewicz Zofia (1862-1955) – Painter, graphic artist, social activist, feminist. She studied at Kharkov. Then she gained knowledge at Wojciech Gerson's Drawing Class in Warsaw and the Académie Julian in Paris. She worked mainly in Warsaw. At the beginning of her career, she painted landscapes and portraits, later devoting herself exclusively to graphics, practicing lithography and linocut. Her work was dominated by architectural themes; many works are views of the old Warsaw.

Straszkiewicz Stanisław (1870-1925) – In 1901-1903, he studied painting at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Józef Unierzyski, Józef Mehoffer and Jan Stanisławski. In the academic year 1901/1902, he received a Brown Medal for his landscapes. He was a member of the Committee of the Society for the Encouragement of Fine Arts (1916/1917), and a full member of that society for the remainder of his life. In 1922, he joined the Warsaw-based Pro Arte Group. He exhibited his works regularly at the Society for the Encouragement of Fine Arts (from 1903 on). Initially, his work was visibly influenced by Stanisławski (he painted his favourite themes: thistles, sunflowers, windmills); subsequently yielded to a fascination with Józef Chełmoński's paintings. He painted hazy, nostalgic landscapes, working on them slowly, preparing a number of sketches for each picture. He took part in the Exhibition of *Works of Professor Jan Stanisławski's Students*, organised in 1907 as a posthumous tribute to the Master. He showed two of his oil paintings: *A Moonnight* and *Moonrise*.

Steller Paweł (1895-1974) – Graphic artist, painter and art educator. He studied in Lviv, Prague and until 1927 at the School of Fine Arts in Warsaw under Władysław Skoczylas. He practiced graphic, applied graphic arts, as well as watercolour painting. His landscapes and figural compositions were a continuation of Skoczylas's art.

Stryjeńska Zofia (1894-1976) – Following a short training in Leonard Stroynowski's school in 1909, she began systematic studies under Jan Bukowski in Maria Niedzielska's school of painting. In 1911, she started to study at the Munich Academy under Gabriel Ritter von Hackl, Hugo von Habermann and Frantz Burkhard. She won the Grand Prix at The International Exhibition of Decorative Art in Paris in 1925. Associated with Cracow Workshops, she was also a co-founder of the Society of Artists *Rytm*. She was married to the architect Karol

Stryeński. As a painter and illustrator she was the author of the individual style inspired by Polish folklore.

Stryeński Karol (1887-1932) – Architect, interior designer, sculptor, and graphic artist. He studied architecture at the University of Zurich (1907-1911), and at École des Beaux Arts in Paris (1913), and then in the studio of his father Tadeusz. He belonged to the Architecture, Sculpture, Painting and Craft association (ARMiR), and the *Ład* association. He also belonged to Cracow Workshops.

Szczygliński Henryk (1881-1944) – In 1897-1899, he studied painting in Munich under Stanisław Grocholski and Anton Ažbé, and continued at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Jacek Malczewski, Teodor Axentowicz, Leon Wyczółkowski and Jan Stanisławski. He was a member of the Society of Polish Artists Sztuka. Still as a student, he became involved with the Green Balloon Cabaret. In 1917, he moved to Warsaw, where he spent the remainder of his life. During World War I, he served in the Polish Legions. His main area of interest was painting, mostly ambient landscapes, nocturnes and urban views. He also tried his hand at colour lithography. Following Stanisławski's death, together with Stefan Filipkiewicz, he organised two exhibitions in 1907: one to show the works of his Mentor (*Jan Stanisławski. A Posthumous Exhibition*) and the other one to present the works of his students (*Exhibition of the Works by Professor Jan Stanisławski's Students*). He displayed his own works there as well.

Szymanowski Wacław (1859-1930) – Initially, he studied in Wojciech Gerson's Drawing Class, then at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris under Eugene Delaplanche (1879-1880), the Munich academy of Fine Arts under Gyula Benczur (1880-1883) and later under Ludwig von Löfftz. In 1891, together with Stanisław Grocholski, he founded a school of painting in Munich. Since 1892, he was related to the Secession in Munich, the Viennese Secession, Polish Literary and Artistic Society of Polish Artists Sztuka. As a painter and a sculptor, he showed a predilection for genre and folk subjects.

Ślewiński Władysław (1854-1918) – After spending a short time in the School of Agriculture in Czernichów, in 1886 he took over his family's manor estate, Pilaszkowice, which he soon brought to ruin. In 1888, he went to Paris, where he became involved with the artistic and literary bohème. Only as a mature man did he discover his calling as an artist. He was a student of the Académie Julian and, for nearly two years, the Académie Colarossi. He met Paul Gauguin (probably as early as 1888) and joined the circle of painters that surrounded Gauguin. Between 1890 and 1896, they spent the summer together in Pont-Aven. In 1896, he made Le Pouldu his permanent home. In 1902, he took a sightseeing tour of Spain. He spent the years 1905 through 1910 in Poland: in Cracow, the nearby family manor Domaniewice, and in Warsaw, where he started teaching at the School of Fine Arts in 1908, and subsequently in his own atelier. During that period, he made several long trips to the Tatras, mostly to Poronin, and also to Paris. From 1914 on, he lived in Doëlan, Brittany. While abroad, he sent his works to Poland on a regular basis, to be shown at the exhibitions organised by e.g. the Society of Polish Artists Sztuka, and also took part in the exhibitions of the Vienna Secession and the Salon of the Independents in Paris. He painted landscapes, still lifes (mostly of flowers), as well as portraits and peasant types from Brittany and Podhale. He was connected with the Pont-Aven group, and developed his individual formula of Synthesis.

His paintings display sophisticated, almost ascetic simplicity of technical means and symbolic expression.

Talaga Jan (1876-1955) – In 1900-1906, he studied at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Józef Mehoffer, Leon Wyczółkowski, Teodor Axentowicz, and Jan Stanisławski. In 1911, he made a sightseeing trip to Italy, and around 1920 went to Ceylon, Hong Kong, China and Japan. In 1913, he joined the Society of Polish Artists Sztuka, in whose exhibitions he took part on a regular basis. He painted mostly landscapes, often reiterating the motif of a creek in winter. He never broke free from Stanisławski's influence. He also made some wall paintings. His favourite techniques were oil and watercolour.

Terlikowski Włodzimierz (1873-1951) – As a teenager, he ran away from Warsaw to Munich (c. 1889), where he did odd jobs, including work at the circus. In 1891, he came to Paris, where he allegedly studied with Jean-Paul Laurens. Then he received help from the writer Jan Lorentowicz, who taught him and arranged jobs. In 1898, he set out on a seven-year journey (Algeria, England, Australia, China, Egypt, Mexico, the Netherlands, Germany, New Zealand, Russia, Singapore, Tunisia, and Italy). During World War I, he lived in 'La Ruche' in Paris. In the years 1911-1913, he had a studio in rue de la Grande-Chaumière 16, directly next to that of Modigliani, with whom he became close friends. His other friends there included Kisling, Soutine and Foujita. His atelier was a meeting point for artist from Poland. During World War I, he stayed in Troyes, where he had an individual exhibition. . After 1918, he travelled a lot to Spain and Italy, and to Poland, where he exhibited his paintings. From 1928, he belonged to the Circle of Polish Artists. Initially, he depicted Parisian views. After 1910, he developed an individual style, which made him one of the more interesting representatives of post-Impressionism.

Tichy Karol (1871-1939) – One of the key Polish designers of the 20th century, a co-founder of the Polish Applied Art Society. He played an instrumental role in the revival of decorative arts in Poland. Particularly noteworthy are his designs of furniture, textiles and ceramics. In 1904, he became one of the first professors of Warsaw School of Fine Arts. He was associated with the *Lad* co-op founded in 1926.

Trojanowski Edward (1873-1930) – Painter and graphic artist. Between 1892 and 1896, he studied at the Academy of Fine Arts in St Petersburg and then at the Académie Julian in Paris. He was a cofounder of the Polish Society of Applied Arts in 1901, and from 1909, a member of the Society of Polish Artists Sztuka. He was a professor at the Warsaw School of Applied Arts and from 1923 at the Warsaw School of Fine Arts. He designed applied graphics, ceramics and kilim rugs.

Trusz Iwan (1869-1941) – He studied painting at the Cracow School of Fine Arts, initially under Izydor Jabłoński, Władysław Łuszczkiewicz, Józef Unierzyski and Leopold Loeffler; then between 1895 and 1897, under Leon Wyczółkowski and Jan Stanisławski. In 1894, he moved to Vienna, where he attended some classes at the Academy of Fine Arts. Afterwards, he travelled extensively, visiting Rome, Palestine and Egypt. He also went to the Crimea. Finally, he took up residence in Lviv, living to some extent a reclusive life in the borderland of two cultures: Polish and Ukrainian. He was an art critic, publishing articles in Ukrainian magazines, and also an illustrator and collaborator of Lviv theatres. He painted primarily

landscapes – gloomy and ambient, which he grouped into series: *Nasturtiums – Lonely Ones*, *On Solitude*, and *In the Embrace of Snow*.

Uziembło Henryk (1879-1949) – After attending the Industrial School in Cracow, he moved to Vienna, where he completed the whole curriculum at the *Kunstgewerbeschule*. He worked for the *Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie* under Professor Karl Karger. In 1902, he became a student of Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Stanisław Wyspiański and Teodor Axentowicz. In 1904-1905, he continued his studies in Paris, and also studied interior architecture in England and Italy. He was a founding member of the Polish Applied arts Society (1901-1914), and in 1902, joined the Society of Polish Artists *Sztuka*. Starting in 1922, he taught at the Institute of Visual Arts in Cracow. He designed interiors, polychromes (e.g. at the Wawel Cathedral), stained-glass windows and posters. He was one of the leading exponents of Polish applied arts. Under Jan Stanisławski's influence, he began painting landscapes.

Waliszewski Zygmunt (1897-1936) – he began his artistic studies in the School of Drawing and Painting in Tbilisi in Georgia, to continue them a couple of years later at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Wojciech Weiss and Józef Pankiewicz (1921-1924). Initially connected with the group of Formists, he soon joined the group KP (The Parisian Committee) and left Poland to carry on his studies at the Parisian branch of Cracow academy of Fine Arts, where he stayed from 1924 to 1930. In 1931, he returned to Warsaw, but later moved to Cracow. In 1927, he contracted the *Bürger* disease, which caused his premature death. He painted landscapes, still lifes, portraits and figural compositions. Apart from easel painting, he practiced wall-painting.

Wankie Władysław (1860-1925) – Between 1875 and 1880, he was a student at Wojciech Gerson's Drawing Class in Warsaw, and then briefly at Cracow School of Fine Arts. The years 1882-1903, he spent in Munich, and thereafter returned to Warsaw. Initially, he painted sentimental naïve genre scenes, and then around 1887, his painting approached Symbolism, finally in his mature period he created ambient nostalgic stylised landscapes.

Waśkowski Tadeusz (1883-1960) – He was a student of Józef Mehoffer at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts in the years 1905-1911. He was a painter and teacher of drawing.

Wawrzeński Marian (1863-1943) – Initially, he attended the Warsaw School of Drawing, having Wojciech Gerson as his tutor (1880-1881). Later (1881-1883 and 1886-1887), he studied at Cracow School of Fine Arts under Jan Matejko, Leopold Loeffler and Florian Cynk. In the years 1884-1885 and 1890-1895, he travelled several times to Munich, in 1885 to Paris, and in 1891-1892 to Italy. Linked to the artistic circle of *Chimera*, he was also a member of the Society of Artists *Odlam*. He was an art critic and painter interested in allegorical scenes and subjects referring to Slavonic legends and myths.

Weber Max (1881-1961) – Polish-Jewish-American painter who painted cubist compositions before switching to Jewish themes towards the end of his life. Born in a Polish city of Białystok, then part of Russian Empire, he emigrated to America with his parents at the age of ten. He studied art at the Pratt Institute in Brooklyn under Arthur Wesley Dow. In 1905, he had saved enough money to travel to Paris and study, acquainting himself with the work of such modernist artists as Henri Rousseau, Matisse, Pablo Picasso and other members of the so-called School of Paris. In 1909, he returned to New York and helped to

introduce cubism to America. He is considered one of the most significant American cubists. In 1930 the Museum of Modern Art held a retrospective of his work, the first solo exhibition at that museum of an American artist.

Weiss Irena (Aneri) (1888-1981) – Initially, she studied at Warsaw School of Fine Arts under Karol Tichy, Konrad Krzyżanowski and Xawery Dunikowski, then at a private course led by Wojciech Weiss, her future husband. She painted landscapes, still lifes and portraits. During the 1970s, she occupied herself with mosaic-making.

Weiss Wojciech (1875-1950) – He studied at Cracow School of Fine Arts: in 1891, he was a free auditor, and from 1892 to 1895, a student of Władysław Łuszczkiewicz and Jan Matejko. Between 1895 and 1899, he was enrolled in Leon Wyczółkowski's master class. In 1896, he took his first sightseeing trip around Europe (Berlin, Dresden, Prague, Vienna), and in 1897, visited Paris for the first time. He was one of Stanisław Przybyszewski's friends and, starting in 1898, collaborated with him as an illustrator for *Życie* magazine published in Cracow. Influenced by Przybyszewski's theories, he became interested in existential issues, penetration of the human psyche and the innermost concealed layers of the subconscious. In 1901 and 1902, he continued his painting studies in Florence and Rome. He lived in Cracow, and starting in 1904, he spent the summer in his own house in Kalwaria Zebrzydowska. In 1907, he began teaching Cracow Academy of Fine Arts, where he became a professor in 1913 and served as rector three times. He made numerous trips, e.g. to Italy, Vienna and southern France, where he spent the summer breaks from 1923 on. In 1898, he became a member of the Society of Polish Artist Sztuka, and also exhibited his works together with the Vienna Secession. Between 1922 and 1939 (almost every year) he took part in art shows organised by the Carnegie Institute in Pittsburgh. He received a large number of prizes in exhibitions held at home and abroad (e.g. the Gold Medal at the 1900 Exposition Universelle in Paris). In his early period, he made expressionist portraits and symbolic fantastic compositions. Somewhat later, he became interested in colour and purely painterly issues. He painted idyllic scenes of family life, sunny landscapes, portraits, nudes and still lifes, as well as scenes referring to antiquity and mythology.

Winiarz Jerzy Edward (1892-1928) – Painter; fought in the Polish Legions. He studied art at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Wojciech Weiss, and was a member of the Jednoróg group of artist.

Winkler Konrad (1882-1962) – He studied history of art at the Lviv University, while his artistic training took place at Loth's Academy in Paris in the years 1924-1927. He was related, both as a painter and theoretician, to the group of Polish Expressionists, the future Formists, and to the artists gathered around the Salon of the Independents. An art critic and theoretician, he painted landscapes, portraits and still lifes, drawing inspiration from folk and primitive painting.

Witkiewicz Stanisław (1851-1915) – Painter, architect, writer and art theoretician. Witkiewicz was born in the Lithuanian village of Pašiaušė (Polish: Poszawsze) in Samogitia, at that time, in the partitioned Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth lands ruled by the Russian Empire. He studied in St Petersburg (1869-71), then in Munich (1872-75). He created the Zakopane Style (*styl zakopiański*) (also known as Witkiewicz Style (*styl witkiewiczowski*)) in architecture. He was strongly associated with Zakopane and promoted it in the art

community. His son, Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz, became a famous painter, playwright, novelist and philosopher, also known (from the conflation of his surname and middle name) by the mononymous pseudonym 'Witkacy'. The son's godmother was the internationally famous actress Helena Modjeska (Helena Modrzejewska), whom the elder Witkiewicz in 1876 had nearly accompanied to California in the United States. Witkiewicz had strong views against formal education: *'school is completely at odds with the psychological make-up of human beings'*. He applied this principle in his son's upbringing and was disappointed when the twenty-year-old Witkacy chose to enrol at the Academy of Fine Arts in Cracow. In 1908, suffering from tuberculosis, the elder Witkiewicz left his family in Zakopane and relocated to Lovranno, a fashionable resort in what was then Austria, which today is in Croatia. He died there in 1915.

Witkiewicz Stanisław Ignacy (Witkacy) (1885-1939) – Initially, he studied under his father Stanisław Witkiewicz and from 1904 on at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Józef Mehoffer and Jan Stanisławski. In 1906, he met Władysław Ślewiński and took lessons from him. He travelled extensively throughout Europe (Vienna, Germany, Italy, Paris, Brittany, and London). In 1914, he and his friend Bronisław Malinowski went on a trip to Ceylon and Australia, but the news of the outbreak of World War I brought him back to Europe. He spent the war years in St Petersburg as a commissioned officer of the elite Pavlovsky Leib Guard Regiment. After his return to Poland, he joined the group of Polish Expressionists (as of 1912 Polish Formists). He published *New Forms in Painting and the Resultant Misunderstandings*, where he formulated his theory of Pure Form in painting. During the interwar period, he lived in Zakopane, taking a very active part in artistic life. In his early period, he painted landscapes, still lifes and portraits influenced by Ślewiński, in the Young Poland spirit; then through his fantastical/grotesque paintings, he reached abstract expressionism. In 1924, he withdrew from creative painting and the pure form idea, and set up the S.I. Witkiewicz Portrait Painting Firm, rendering services according to a rather peculiar set of rules.

Witkowski Romuald Kamil (1876-1950) – In 1899, he enrolled in Wojciech Gerson's Drawing Class in Warsaw, and then between 1901 and 1904, he studied at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Józef Unierzyski, Florian Cynk and Jan Stanisławski. In 1904, he moved to Warsaw for good, and became a colourful figure in the city's artistic circles. In 1917, he joined the newly-formed Polish Artistic Club in Warsaw and the Avant-garde artists group, and in 1919 became one of the Polish Formists. In 1924, he became a member of the 'Rhythm' Association of Polish Artists. He took part in the exhibitions of all the artistic groups that he was a member of. He won a number of awards, e.g. the Gold Medal at the 1937 International Exhibition of Art and Technology in Paris. Initially, he painted landscapes inspired by Stanisławski's work; over time, he began to paint still lifes and portraits of ascetic composition, resembling the works of constructivists.

Wodziński Józef (1859-1915) – He studied at Wojciech Gerson's Drawing Class in Warsaw, then at Cracow School of Fine Arts (1878-1881), Munich Academy (1881-1884), and Vienna. He painted salon and costume scenes, marine landscapes, and illustrated German and English newspapers and magazines.

Wojnarski Jan (1879-1937) – He studied painting at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Jan Stanisławski (1904-1906), Leon Wyczółkowski (1907-1909), and also etching and engraving under Wyczółkowski (1907-1909) and Józef Pankiewicz (1911-1912). He was

granted a cash prize in the academic year 1904/1905 in recognition of his achievement as a student. He was a member of such artistic groups as: The Group of Five, the Independents, Colour, and Keystone. Although he did some painting, print art was his main area of interest. He took part in the *Exhibition of Works of Professor Jan Stanisławski's Students*, organised in 1907 as a posthumous tribute to the Master. He showed eight of his oil paintings: Creek, Oaks, Springtime Field, Dusk, Roses I-III, and Willows.

Wojtkiewicz Witold (1879-1909) – In 1879, he began his art studies in Wojciech Gerson's Drawing Class, which he soon dropped. He began writing a satirical column for *Kolce* magazine under the penname 'Wit-Woj' and made illustrations for *Wędrowiec* and *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*. He had his debut as an artist in 1902, in Aleksander Krywult's Salon in Warsaw, exhibiting a series of humourist drawings. In the autumn of 1903, he enrolled in Cracow Academy of Fine Arts (Leon Wyczółkowski's studio), but his attendance was irregular. He was one of the contributors of caricatures for *Melpomene's Portfolio*, made tragicomic sketches, was one of the cofounders of the Green Balloon Cabaret, and collaborated with the leftist *Liberum Veto* weekly. He made friends with Eliza Pareńska and frequented her salon, where the whole artistic world of Cracow would gather at the time. After graduation in 1906, he began exhibiting his works with some success at Schulte's gallery in Berlin, where they attracted the attention of Maurice Denis and André Gide, who organised an exhibition for him in Paris, at the Galerie Druet in 1907. Following his return from Paris, he became friends with Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz and Roman Jaworski. They made drawings for Warsaw's satirical magazines *Czarny Kot* and *Chochół*. He was a member of the Group of Five and the Zero Group (1908), and of the Society of Polish Artists *Sztuka*. He painted portraits, scenes inspired by literature and symbolic compositions saturated with a sense of the tragedy of existence, full of passion, concealed obsessions, tensions and fears. Depicting an unreal marionette reality – in his several series: *Circus*, *Insanity*, *From a Child's Poses* and *Ceremonies* – he made frequent references to the world of a child's imagination.

Wyczółkowski Leon (1852-1936) – Born at Huta Miastkowska, district Garwolin in Masovia, died in Warsaw. In the years 1869-1877, he studied painting at the Warsaw Drawing Class of Wojciech Gerson. He continued his education at the Munich Academy under Alexander Wagner (1875-1877) and at Cracow School of Fine Arts under Jan Matejko (1877-1879). The period between 1881 and 1883 he spent in Warsaw and then travelled to the Ukraine (1885-1894). In 1895, he was appointed professor at Cracow School of Fine Arts, which position he held until 1911, living in Cracow until 1929, when he moved to Poznań. In 1934, he became a graphics professor at Warsaw Academy of Fine Arts. He undertook several artistic travels (Paris, Italy, Spain, the Netherlands and England). He was a co-founder of the Society of Polish Artists *Sztuka*. He worked in the oil technique, and after 1900 chiefly in pastels and watercolours. He painted landscapes, genre scenes, portraits and still lifes. From the beginning of the 20th century onwards, he began practicing graphic art, which towards the end of his life became the main field of his creativity and in which he was, besides Pankiewicz, the most outstanding Polish artist. He was also active as a sculptor.

Wygrzywalski Feliks Michał (1875-1944) – Painter and graphic artist. He studied at the Munich Academy of Fine Arts under Ludwig Herterich and Karl Marr, and at the Académie Julian in Paris. He created symbolic decorative paintings (triptych *Liberation*), genre scenes and seascapes. In 1900, he settled in Rome, and from 1907 he lived in Lviv, where he held individual exhibitions in 1908 and 1932.

Wyrwiński Wilhelm (1887-1918) – Painter; member of the Society of Polish Artists Sztuka. He was associated with the Cracow Workshops. He practiced easel painting, designed stained-glass windows, interior decorations, murals and applied graphics, books, ex-libris and toys. He was a colonel in the Polish Army, and died serving in the Polish Legions during the defence of Lviv.

Wyspiański Stanisław (1869-1907) – Born and died in Cracow; in the years 1885-1886, he studied at Cracow School of Fine Arts under Florian Cynk, Władysław Łuszczkiewicz, and Izydor Jabłoński. In the periods 1887-1890 and 1896-1897, he studied history, history of art and history of literature at the Jagiellonian University. From 1889 to 1890, he collaborated with Jan Matejko on painting the polychromy of Our Lady's Church in Cracow. In 1890, he travelled around Europe, and then stayed in Paris (1891-1894), where he studied at Académie Colarossi under Joseph Blanc, Jacques Courtois and Auguste Girardot. In 1894, he returned to Cracow, where from 1902, he taught decorative painting at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts. He was a co-founder of the Society of Polish Artists Sztuka. He was also a playwright, poet, and reformer of Polish theatre, stage designer; painter and draughtsman, designer of murals, stained-glass windows and furniture. He also made book illustrations, vignettes, and painted on glass.

Zaboklicki Wacław (1879-1959) – He studied in Wojciech Gerson's Drawing Class in Warsaw, and then from 1899 in Munich Academy under M. Weinholdt and A. Ažbe. In 1903, he continued his education at the Académie Colarossi in Paris. Between 1904 and 1912, he lived in Brittany. In 1919, he settled in Warsaw. He painted mainly pastel marine landscapes and flower compositions.

Zak Eugeniusz (1884-1926) – He was born into an assimilated family of Polish Jews. Still as a child, he moved to Warsaw, where he completed his secondary education. In 1902, he left for Paris, where he studied at the École des Beaux-Arts, joining Jean-Léon Gérôme's studio, and subsequently in the Académie Colarossi, under Albert Besnard. In 1903, he travelled to Italy and Munich, where he enrolled in Anton Ažbe's school. In 1904, he returned to Paris and had his debut at the Autumn Salon. From 1906 to 1908, he travelled extensively, e.g. to Pont-l'Abbé in Brittany. He took an active part in the life of the Polish artistic colony, e.g. as an activist of the Society of Polish Artists in Paris. He was a friend of a large number of Polish artists there, among them: Roman Kramsztyk, Wacław Borowski, Leopold Gottlieb, Jerzy Merkel, Elie Nadelman, Mela Muter, Tytus Czyżewski, and Zygmunt Menkes. His success led the French Government's purchase of his painting for the Luxemburg Museum (1910); he also had an exhibition at the Galerie Druet (1911) and was friends with important figures in the Paris art circles, such as the critics Adolf Basler and André Salmon. In 1912, he became a professor at the Académie La Palette. In 1913, he married Jadwiga Kohn, a beginning painter at the time, who would run the well-known Galerie Zak after his death. Zak spent two years in the south of France (Nice and Venice), and visited Lausanne in Switzerland. In 1916, he moved to Czeszochowa (his wife's hometown) and became connected to the Formists. After moving to Warsaw, he became involved in joined projects with the future members of the Rhythm Group, which he cofounded (1921). In 1922, he left Poland for good, first emigrating to Germany (Berlin and Bonn), where he won considerable recognition, leading to interesting commissions, such as painting decorations in the villa owned by the architect Fritz August Breuhaus. He also became a contributor to *Deutsch Kunst und Dekoration* magazine, in which he published monographic articles on selected artists. He

moved to Paris again in 1923, together with his friends: Zygmunt Menkes and Marc Chagall. Zak had exhibitions in Paris (1911, 1925) and Warsaw (1917). In addition to regular participation in the Parisian Salons (from 1904 on) and in the exhibition of Polish artists residing in Paris, held in Barcelona in 1912, he displayed his works in the Armory Show (1913) in New York, Chicago and Detroit – as the only Pole, except for Elie Nadelman, also at the Venice Biennale (1914), and during the Paris exhibitions of the association France-Pologne (1924). He also took part in the exhibitions of the Society of Polish Artists Sztuka (starting in 1908), the Future Formists in Cracow (1913) and Zakopane (1916), and in the first two official exhibitions of the Polish Expressionists in Cracow (1917) and Lviv (1918). He showed his works in Warsaw as a member of the Polish Art Club (1917-1919) and the New Group (1918), as well as a member of Rhythm in Cracow (1923) and Warsaw (1924). He painted primarily stylized, nostalgic genre scenes.

Zawadowski Jan Wacław (1891-1982) – From 1910 to 1913, he was a student of Józef Pankiewicz's at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts. Then, he left for Paris, where from 1913 he exhibited his works at the Salons of the Independents, and from 1926 on at the Salon Tuilleries. He co-founded the Artists' Guild 'Unicorn', and in 1938 became the director of the Parisian branch of the Academy of Fine Arts in Cracow. He was a colourist, interested in landscape, figural compositions and still lifes.

Zieleniewski Kazimierz (1888-1931) – He studied at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Wojciech Weiss. In 1919, he travelled with his family to Japan, where he stayed for nearly two years, exhibiting in various Tokyo galleries. Then he moved to Paris and took part in the life of the artistic colony of Montparnasse.

Ziomek Teodor (1874-1937) – In 1897-1901, he studied at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Józef Unierzyski, Leon Wyczółkowski and Jan Stanisławski. He was a member of the Society of Polish Artists Sztuka, and in the years 1908-1910, of the 'Fraction' Association of Artists. He collaborated with Sfinks, a literature and art monthly published in Warsaw between 1908 and 1917. He painted primarily landscapes inspired by Stanisławski's works. He took part in the *Exhibition of Works of Professor Jan Stanisławski's Students*, organised in 1907 as a posthumous tribute to the Master. He showed one of his paintings: Synagogue.

Zucker Jakub (1900-1969) – Born in Radom in Poland, he grew up in Palestine. He studied in the Beceal art school in Jerusalem. After World War I, he moved to Paris, where he studied at the Académie Julian and Académie Colarossi. In 1922, he went to New York, which from then on became, alternately with Paris, his place of residence. He painted landscapes, portraits, genre scenes and still lifes.

Zygart Franciszek (1883-1926) – He studied at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts allegedly under Jan Stanisławski and Julian Fałat, although the latter did not teach students directly. After his studies, Zygart went to Poznań, where he spent the rest of his life. He painted stylised landscapes and church murals.

Żelichowski Kacper (1863-1942) – In the years 1879-1889, he studied at Cracow School of Fine Arts under Jan Matejko, and then in 1890, at the Munich Academy. After graduation, he stayed in Cracow for good. From 1887 onwards, he exhibited his works at the Cracovian Society of Friends of Fine Arts. He painted genre scenes, landscapes and portraits.

Żmurko Franciszek (1859-1910) – First, he was a student of Franciszek Tępa's in Lviv, then (1874-1881) of Jan Matejko's at Cracow School of Fine Arts. He also visited Vienna and Munich. In the years 1878-1880, he studied under Alexander Wagner at the Munich Academy. In 1879, he spent six months in Rome. He most often painted semi-nudes and small female heads, as well as ancient, exotic, symbolic and historical compositions.

II Review of Literature on European Japonisme

The dawn of Japonisme dates back to the 1850s when Japan under the pressure of western powers abandoned the sakoku policy of national seclusion and opened up to the outside world. It is important to note that there are a number of valuable works by Europeans, mostly travellers' accounts, predating this turning point in Japan's history. Among them are the writings of Titsingh, Kaempfer, von Siebold and Thunberg, to mention only the most consequential ones. As Gabriel and Yvonne Weisberg's *Japonisme: An Annotated Bibliography* (Weisberg 1990) demonstrates, the period between 1853/1854 and 1900 saw a plethora of Western publications on Japan, most of which constituted important contributions to Japonisme. For more than one reason, the year 1900 can be seen as a critical point in the evolution of Japonisme. Firstly, by 1900, the initial phase of dissemination, acknowledgement and assessment of Japanese art and culture had reached a juncture where Japonisme begins to be gradually perceived as a fact of the past rather than as a component of contemporary artistic status quo (Watanabe 1991, 17), though as numerous studies show, Japonisme continued to evolve throughout the 20th century, albeit it tended to draw its inspiration from different branches and aspects of Japanese culture, such as architecture, garden design, calligraphy and ink painting, as opposed to the earlier western infatuation with the ukiyo-e school of art. Secondly, the 1900 Exposition Universelle in Paris was an eminently important comprehensive pageant of Japanese artistic and industrial achievement (Weisberg 1990, xxvi). Thirdly, the earliest seminal academic studies of Japonisme appear in the opening decades of the 20th century. Lastly, the turn of the century marks a beginning of the renaissance of secondary branches of Japonisme, such as Polish or American.

The aforesaid bibliography by the Weisbergs contains the most comprehensive classified presentation of sources for the study of Japonisme up to 1988. The authors narrowed down the scope to France, Britain and the United States, and divided the presented annotations into the following categories: books, catalogues, articles, dissertations and reviews. The entries within these categories are ordered chronologically, however the nature of such a compendious approach divests this prodigious achievement of an overall temporal perspective of the history of Japonisme. This is not a criticism; as such a 'panoramic' angle was outside the aims set by the authors. Although in the introduction they sketch the evolution of the scholarship of the phenomenon, it is Toshio Watanabe's review of literature in his *High Victorian Japonisme* (1991) that offers a more detailed, and coherent picture of how a taste for Japan was studied in the West, and in Japan, from 1900 through to the 1980s.

This sequential survey takes us through the successive decades of the 20th century Japonisme scholarship directing attention to the tendencies and attitudes that determined its trajectory.

To avoid unnecessary reiteration, my review of literature on the subject shall resume where Watanabe left off. Since this work is concerned primarily with Polish and American Japonisme, my survey of scholarship of Japonisme, including strands of the phenomenon other than Polish and American, is by no means exhaustive. The main criterion in the choice of material has been its usefulness to the contemporary student of Japonisme. Thus the first section is followed by a more thorough examination of the literature on Polish and thereafter American Japonisme.

Certain publications included in Watanabe's survey must be at least mentioned here: Japonisme: Japanese Influence on French Art 1854-1910 (catalogue of an exhibition held at the Cleveland Museum of Art in 1975/6 with essays by Gabriel P. Weisberg, Phillip Dennis Cate, Gerald Needham, Martin Eidelberg and William R. Johnston); *The Meeting of Eastern and Western Art* by Michael Sullivan (1973); *Japanese Prints and Western Painters* by Frank Whitford (1977) and *Japonisme in Art. An International Symposium* edited by Chisaburô Yamada (1980). The controversially received work by Siegfried Wichmann *Japonismus. Ostasien-Europa. Begegnungen in der Kunst des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts* (1980), translated into English in 1981 as *Japonisme. The Japanese Influence on Western art since 1858*, despite its numerous imperfections, merits attention for its extensive and versatile repository of illustrations relevant to the study of the subject. Above all, however, Klaus Berger's *Japonismus in der westlichen Malerei 1860-1920* (1980), elegantly translated into English in 1992 by David Britt, is a case in point. It is remarkable for its scope, content and depth of analysis, though it discusses mainly painting. Apart from France, Britain (to a lesser extent) and the United States, Berger expands his study to other areas: Austria, Holland, Belgium, Germany and Russia. Spanning six decades (1860-1920), the volume deals with the impact of Japan on Impressionism, Postimpressionism, Art Nouveau and 20th-century modernism, thus arriving at an autonomous historical overview of the phenomenon. In addition to an original reassessment of Japanese inspirations in the work of Degas, Van Gogh and Lautrec, pioneering interpretations of the Japonisme of Klimt, Eckmann and Goncharova and other Japoniste artists, as well as its impact on Expressionism and Fauvism, are provided. Berger's strength lies in demonstrating that Japonisme was a catalyst for the development of modernism, which he attributes to the 'decorative' principle inherent in Japanese art, as opposed to the superficially 'ornamental' (333). In his discussion of the pioneers of Japonisme, the author challenges Edmund de Goncourt's claim to the title of the 'father' of Japonisme (11). His chronology of Japonisme and appendices with so far less than well-known texts by Sergei Eisenstein and Frank Lloyd Wright are valuable aids for Japonisme

study. 'The lack of concern with Japonisme in subject matter and content' (Watanabe 1991, 32); or the charge with 'reducing art history to a simplistic kind of evolutionary positivism' in postulating that, for instance, 'Manet's accomplishments were simply a step on the way to Matisse' (Adams 1983), are valid criticisms, which nonetheless do not diminish this otherwise thought-provoking thorough introduction and an overview of the field. The most important Japonisme event during the 1980s was the 1988 exhibition Japonisme mounted in Tokyo and Paris. The catalogues, in Japanese and French, include valuable essays by Shûji Takashina, Geneviève Lacambre, Akiko Mabuchi and Caroline Mathieu.

Review of Japonisme Scholarship 1990-2010

The first detailed study devoted entirely to Japonisme in Britain is *High Victorian Japonisme* by Toshio Watanabe (1991). Heretofore the subject had been discussed only in articles and sections of books. The publication is an important milestone in the development of Japonisme scholarship in that it directs attention from the so far predominantly Franco-centric approach to include Britain's involvement in the phenomenon. From its publication onwards British Japonisme has become the subject of intense scholarly scrutiny. It established the significance of Britain in the early diffusion of the Japanese aesthetic in the realms of both design and fine art. Its last chapter offers a case study of Whistler's Japanese inspirations which are originally reassessed in comparison with their earlier analyses. Watanabe's interest in Japonisme has continued to yield worthwhile research up to the present. In 1991, together with Tomoko Sato, he edited, and contributed texts for, the catalogue of an exhibition mounted by the Barbican Gallery in London and the Setagaya Art Museum in Tokyo (1992) entitled *Japan and Britain: An Aesthetic Dialogue 1850-1930*. This pioneering enterprise successfully charted the reciprocal artistic interchange between the two countries, a so far neglected area.

The 1997 exhibition *Ruskin in Japan 1890-1940: Nature for Art, Art for Life* (Kikuchi & Watanabe 1997) presented by The Ruskin Gallery in Sheffield, Kôriyama City Museum of Art and The Museum of Modern Art in Kamakura, explored the topic of Ruskin's reception in Japan. The texts for the sumptuous catalogue examine the proposed issue in the context of Anglo-Japanese artistic relations, which makes them relevant to the study of Japonisme. The Kikuchi-Watanabe collaboration would generate further accomplishments, one of which was *The British Discovery of Japanese Art* (2002) – a contribution to *The History of Anglo-Japanese Relations 1600-2000 vol. 5, Social and Cultural Perspectives* edited by G. Daniels & C. Tsuzuki. Watanabe's more recent focus has turned to the question

of Japonisme in garden design. His articles on the subject include '19th and 20th Century History of the Reception of the Japanese Garden – its Spirituality and Peacefulness' (2003) in *Kunst und Design Für Frieden und Eintracht*, and 'Britain: From Gothic Revival to Japanese Gardens (2004) in *Society for the Study of Japonisme* (ed.) Introduction to Japonisme'. Yuko Kikuchi's *Japanese Modernisation and Mingei Theory: Cultural nationalism and Oriental Orientalism* (2004), although only indirectly connected to the field of Japonisme, provides a chronological development of Mingei theory from the 1910s to the end of the 20th century, and portrays the relationship between Japanese cultural nationalism and modern western Orientalism, thus making the publication germane to Japonisme studies. The forthcoming publication *Trans-war Japanism 1920s-1960s: Shaping Tastes for Japanese Art in Britain, North America and Japan*, edited by Toshio Watanabe is expected to provide evidence for the existence of a predilection for Japanese art before, during and after World War II.¹⁴⁰

Gabriel Weisberg's contribution to the field is remarkable and centres on France. Apart from the above-mentioned annotated bibliography of Japonisme, the list of his works on Japonisme is long and cannot be dealt with here thoroughly. To the more important titles belong those examining the early stages of Japonisme in France. *The Origins of L'Art Nouveau: The Bing Empire* (2004) features the essay *The Creation of Japonisme* which takes up a topic continued in the 2005 article *Lost and Found: S. Bing's Merchandising of Japonisme and Art Nouveau* published in *19th and 20th Century Art Worldwide*. Besides French Japonisme, Weisberg also specialises in American Japonisme, but this will be dealt with in the section on Japonisme in America.

During the 1990s, the scholarship of Japonisme in Britain continued to evolve. Linda Zatlin Gertner's book *Beardsley, Japonisme, and the Perversion of the Victorian Ideal* (1997) presents an examination of Beardsley's relationship to Japanese erotic prints (shunga), as well as to Japanese art in general, analysing the artist's borrowings with regard to both form and content. Zatlin's forte lies in the attribution of Beardsley's use of the grotesque to Japanese art. Although John Walter de Gruchy's book *Orienting Arthur Waley: Japanism, Orientalism and the Creation of Japanese Literature in English* (2003) pertains to the field of Japonisme in literature, its first chapter 'The Institutionalisation of Japonism in Britain: From Aestheticism toward Modernism' (16-34) makes a beneficial reading also for the student of Japonisme in the visual arts. Ayako Ono's book *Japonisme in Britain: Whistler, Menpes, Henry, Hornel and Nineteenth-century Japan* (2003) commands attention for extending the scope of Japonisme scholarship to Scotland and Australia, though she does not provide

¹⁴⁰ The findings of this Arts and Humanities Research Council project, presented at a conference at the Victoria & Albert Museum in July 2010, are awaiting publication in the near future.

‘panoramic’ pictures of the phenomena in either locality. Anna Basham’s unpublished PhD thesis *From Victorian to Modernist: the changing perception of Japanese architecture encapsulated in Wells Coates’s Japonisme* (2008), is the sole existing monograph on Coates’s Japanese inspirations.

The tendency within Japonisme scholarship to move toward other geographical areas than France, Britain and the USA, which originated in the 1970s and 1980s, has continued until the present decade. Indeed, one is tempted to accept with an ever-growing certainty that Japonisme was in fact a truly Pan-European phenomenon. Earlier studies had acknowledged the existence, and described the nature, of Japonisme in France, Britain, Austria, Germany, Holland and the USA. The last two decades have expanded Japonisme’s reach to include Finland, Belgium, Italy, Poland and Russia. Austrian, and more specifically Viennese Japonisme, was the focus of the 1990 exhibition *Hidden Impressions: Japonisme in Vienna 1870-1930* shown at Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst (Pantzer); and also at five locations in Japan between December 1994 and August 1995. Claudia Delank’s book *Das imaginäre Japan in der Kunst* (1996) presented Japonisme in Germany. Finnish Japonisme was the subject of an exhibition presented by The Turku Art Museum in 1994 and entitled *Japanismi Suomen vuosisadan vaihteen taiteessa: Japanism i finlansk konst vid sekelskiftet* (Japonisme in Finnish art at the turn of the century). Unfortunately, as yet I have been unable to reach its catalogue. Anna Kortelainen has written several works of Japonisme in Finland, one of which is *Tasteless “japonaiseries”: The Concept of Kitsch in Two Collections of Japonaiseries* published in 2000 in *Scandinavian Journal of Design History*. It examines the notion of kitsch in Japonisme based on the collections of Japonaiseries assembled by two Finnish artists: Albert Edelfelt and Alex Gallén Kallela. The first monograph on Japonisme in Belgium came from Yôko Takagi in 2006 *Japonisme in Fin de Siècle Art in Belgium*, a subject continued in the 2008 exhibition *Oriental Fascination 1890-1910: Japonisme in Belgium* mounted at the City Hall in Brussels and organised in collaboration with the National Museum in Cracow and the manggha Museum of Japanese Art and Technology¹⁴¹ in Cracow. This exhibition, curated by Beata Romanowicz, brought together some of the finest examples of ukiyo-e prints from the Feliks Jasieński collection in Cracow, together with the Japanising works of over twenty Belgian artists. An article by Julia Fischer *Constructing a First Impression of Japan: Recreating an Album of Felice Beato* (2007) is a successful attempt at assessing the Japanese impact on the work of this influential Italo-British photographer. In a conference held at Birkbeck College, University of London,

¹⁴¹ In 2007, this institution changed its name from manggha Centre of Japanese Art & Technology to manggha Museum of Japanese Art and Technology.

in 2004 *Re-Imagining Culture in the Russo-Japanese War* Rosamund Bartlett delivered a paper entitled *The Russo-Japanese War in Russian Cultural Consciousness*, in which she illuminated the polarised Russian attitude to Japan at the time of the 1904 war. Bartlett returned to the subject in a more extended form in her article *Japonisme and Japonophobia: The Russo-Japanese War in Russian Cultural Consciousness* (2008).

In addition to the exhibitions already mentioned, the last two decades saw many more diverse displays of the western fascination with Japan. *Japan and Europe 1543-1929* at Martin-Gropius-Bau in Berlin in 1993; *Japonisme et Mode* at Paris Galliera, Musée de la Mode et du Costume in Paris in 1996; *Japonism in Fashion* in 1994 mounted by The National Museum of Modern Art in Kyoto and The Kyoto Costume Institute; and *The Katagami Paper Stencils and Japonisme* held in 2006/2007 at the Maison de la Culture du Japon in Paris in association with the Japan Foundation; were only some of them.

In March 2005, New York University convened a conference on Japonisme *Revisioning Reality: International Japonisme. The Influence of Japan on the Visual Arts 1853-2005*. Among the discussed issues were the creation of the aesthetic of Japonisme, the Japanese origin of the architecture of Midori-no-Sato outside Paris and its impact on the architecture of Greene & Greene and Frank Lloyd Wright, as well as on landscape gardening. Other papers looked at certain collectors of Japanese art and their collections (e.g. Charles Lang Freer). Japonisme in contemporary craft and fashion was also examined.

Japonisme scholarship in Japan until 1920 was rather sporadic and consisted mainly of diary accounts written by Japanese visitors to the West. Thereafter, the subject begins to be studied with an increasing intensity. In the last two decades, the Japanese contribution to the field is noteworthy.¹⁴² Here, a choice of recent studies by such scholars is considered. In 1998 Tokyo Metropolitan Teien Art Museum organised an exhibition entitled *Kogei no Japonisumu ten* (*Japonisme in Decorative Arts*), which was accompanied by a catalogue edited by Masayuki and Tomoko Okabe. The following year Inaga Shigemi, today one of the leading scholars in the field of Japonisme in Japan, released his *Kaiga no Tôhō. Orientarizumu kara japonisumu e*. Written in Japanese, with a summary in English, Inaga's work focuses on the outcome of western symbolic domination of the Orient. The author compares Japonisme with its seemingly close cousin 'peintures orientalistes'. In contrast to the latter, he accords Japonisme positive characteristics, above all its role as a determinant in the process of formation of 'Modern Art' in the West. Inaga's publications include other works relevant to the present topic, as his specialisation is delineated by such terms as

¹⁴² 'Japanese contribution', in this context is understood as the input of Japanese or Japanese-descent scholars, based both in Japan and elsewhere.

Japonisme, Orientalism, Modernism and cross-cultural communication. One more example of Inaga's work will suffice to illustrate the point: *The Making of Hokusai's Reputation in the Context of Japonisme*, published in *Japan Review* (2004). This lucid and well-argued essay questions Katsushika Hokusai's reputation as the 'ultimate oriental master', a status that, according to Inaga, was the result of certain social and historical conditions underlying Japonisme.

There is a relatively recent tendency within the field to move away from analyses of individual artist's Japanese inspirations, particularly such Japanising giants as for instance Degas, Monet, van Gogh, Gauguin or Whistler. These inspirations, in most cases, have already been documented and interpreted; nonetheless, a few artists have been neglected in this respect. It was Hidemichi Tanaka, who in 1977 at the instigation of Chisaburô Yamada, published an article in *Japanese Japonisme, Manet and Cézanne*. Having conducted more recent research, Tanaka returned to the subject in *Cézanne and Japonisme* published in *Artibus et Historiae* (2001). The 2004 article by Yûko Imai of Kôbe University *Changes in French Tastes for Japanese Ceramics* traces the inconstant preferences for Japanese ceramics in the second half of the 20th century in France as reflected in private collections. Imai bases her thesis on such documentary material as contemporary auction catalogues and museum catalogues. Furthermore, the author compares these 19th-century trends in France with those of the 17th and 18th centuries. A valuable contribution to the discourse on the meaning of Edward Said's theory of Orientalism in the Japanese context came from Daisuke Nishihara in 2005. *Said, Orientalism and Japan* elucidates the characteristics of the Japanese reception of Said's Orientalism, as well as identifies the essential features of Japanese Orientalism – an issue pertinent to the topic under discussion. Another author who took on the subject is Yoko Harada (2006). Finally, Kiyoko Mitsuyama-Wdowiak's unpublished MPhil thesis (2008) *The Critical Reception of Contemporary Japanese Art Exhibitions Held in the West (1945-1995)*, should be mentioned.

Several other studies conducted in the last decade deserve a mention. *Plunder and Pleasure: Japanese Art in the West, 1860-1930* by Max Put (2000) provides a documentary insight into the role of dealers and collectors in the phenomenon and discourse of Japonisme in France. The bulk of the book is devoted to the translations of two texts dealing with buying, selling and collecting of Japanese art works in France: *Notes d'un bibeloteur au Japon* (Notes of a Parisian Bibeloteur in Japan) (1883) by Philippe Sichel; and Raymond Koechlin's *Souvenirs d'un vieil amateur d'art de l'Extrême-Orient* (Memories of an Old Collector of Far Eastern Art). An original contribution examining the channels, through which pre-modern Japanese books entered Europe and subsequently formed collections within European libraries, was made by the Cambridge-based Peter Francis Kornicki.

Collecting Japanese Books in Europe from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Centuries (2004) investigates the activities and collections of a wide range of figures: Engelbert Kaempfer, Isaac Titsingh, Philipp Franz von Siebold, Julius Klaproth, Lèon de Rosny, Antelmo Severini, Ernest Satow, Karl Florenz, Sergei Kitaev and Feliks Jasieński. Edo Print Art and Its Western Interpretations (2004) is the title of the unpublished MA thesis by Elisabeth R. Nash supervised by Sandy Kita at the University of Maryland. Relying on stylistic and cultural art historical methods, the dissertation focuses on the disparate French and American definitions and interpretations of the Edo print. Another unpublished thesis *Lautrec's Legacy: Manifestations of Deformity & Synechdochical Depictions of Legs* completed in 2005 at the University of Pennsylvania by Veronika Turfanova contains a chapter the thrust of which ascribes Lautrec's idiosyncratic approach to the representation of the human figure to both the example of Japanese woodblock prints and Degas. Lionel Lambourne's book Japonisme: Cultural Crossings Between Japan and the West (2005) presents Japonisme as a diverse phenomenon embracing painting, posters, prints, decorative arts, furniture and interiors, textiles, literature, the theatre and opera, travel, landscape and garden. This richly illustrated publication also offers a concise historical survey of the development of Japonisme, as well as a chapter on Japonisme in America.

III List of Abbreviations

AIC – The Art Institute of Chicago
BADP – Bibliothèque des Arts Décoratifs in Paris
BBM – Bielsko-Biała Museum
bef. – before
BITC – Bank of Industry and Trade in Cracow
BM – The British Museum
BMFA – Boston Museum of Fine Arts
BochM – Bochnia Museum
c. – century
ca. – circa
CAFA – Cracow Academy of Fine Arts
CAFAA – Cracow Academy of Fine Arts Archive
CAFAL – Cracow Academy of Fine Arts Library
canv. – canvas
cardb. – cardboard
ch. – church
col. – colour
dep. – deposited at
DMT – District Museum in Tarnów
embr. – embroidery
EMC – Ethnographical Museum in Cracow
FGAWDC – Freer Galley of Art in Washington D C
hf. – half
HH – Halatówki Hostel
HM – Hokusai Museum
HMC – Historical Museum in Cracow
HMMAS – Hokkaido Museum of Modern Art in Sapporo
IPLM – Ipswich Public Library, Massachusetts
JMMR – Jacek Malczewski Museum in Radom
JUL – Jagiellonian University in Cracow
KDMAG – Kirkaldy District Museum and Art Gallery
KFNY – The Kościuszko Foundation in New York
KMHT – Kuroda Memorial Hall in Tokyo
LGA – Lviv Gallery of Art
LM – Lublin Museum
lacq. – lacquer
LMAV – Lithuanian Museum of Art in Vilnius
LCPPOC – Library of Congress Print and Photographs Online Catalogue
LWMB – Leon Wyczółkowski Museum in Bydgoszcz
ŁMA – Łódź Museum of Art
ŁoM – Łowicz Museum
MAB – Museum of Art in Bern
MDDD – Museum Dhondt-Dhaenens in Deurle
MFAL – Museum of Fine Arts in Liège
MFALyon – Museum of Fine Arts in Lyon
MLW – Museum of Literature in Warsaw
MMG – Maritime Museum in Gdańsk
MMO – Munch Museum in Oslo
MMP – Mazovian Museum in Płock
MMPS – Museum of Middle Pomerania in Słupsk

MMS – Matisse Museum in Nice
 MO – Musée d’Orsay
 MoMA – Museum of Modern Art in New York
 MPA – Museum of Poznań Archdiocese
 MTMZ- Museum of the Tatra Mountains in Zakopane
 MUSB – Museum of Upper Silesia in Bytom/USMB – Upper Silesia Museum in Bytom
 NDA – National Digital Archive
 NGAWDC – National Gallery of Art in Washington D C
 NLW – National Library in Warsaw
 NMA – Nezu Museum of Art in Tokyo
 NMC – National Museum in Cracow
 NMG – National Museum in Gdańsk
 NMP – National Museum in Poznań
 NMPr – National Museum in Prague
 NMS – National Museum in Szczecin
 NMW – National Museum in Warsaw
 NMWAT – National Museum of Western Art in Tokyo NMMAT – National Museum of
 Modern Art in Tokyo
 NMWr – National Museum in Wrocław
 OLW – The Ossoliński Library in Wrocław
 PAS – Polish Academy of Science
 past. – pastel
 PCLC – Princes Czartoryskis Library in Cracow
 penc. – pencil
 PGW – Panorama Gallery in Warsaw
 ph. – photograph
 PMB – Podlaskie Museum in Białystok
 priv. coll. – private collection
 RMAHB – Royal Museum of Art and History in Brussels
 RMSW – Regional Museum in Stalowa Wola
 SAAAWDC – The Smithsonian Archives of American Art in Washington D C
 SM – Suwałki Museum
 SMK – Silesian Museum in Katowice
 SMO – Silesian Museum in Opole
 SSPLS – Stanisław Staszic Pomeranian Library in Szczecin
 TB – Tate Britain
 TFAM – Tokyo Fuji Art Museum
 TM – Toruń Museum
 TMW – Theatre Museum in Warsaw
 TNM – Tokyo National Museum
 TPMFA – Togichi Prefectural Museum of Fine Arts
 UAAV – University of Applied Arts in Vienna
 UTM – University of Tokyo Museum
 UWL – University of Warsaw Library
 VAM – Victoria and Albert Museum
 VGMA – Van Gogh Museum in Amsterdam
 WAFAA – Warsaw Academy of Fine Arts Archive
 waterc. – watercolour
 WOA – Wrocław Opera Archive
 woodbl. – woodblock
 WSCA – Wawel State Collections of Art
 WWFM Wojciech Weiss Foundation Museum

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1661 Still Life with Flowers, 1930s, oil on cardb., priv. coll.

Dater Weldon, Charles

1392 Japanese Dolls Inspecting a Blond Doll, ca. 1883, oil on canv., ph., LCPPOC

Dąbrowa-Dąbrowski, Eugeniusz

1139 Marine Landscape, 1907, col. lith., NMW

Dąbrowski, Stanisław

1132 Rain, col. lith. on Japanese pap., priv. coll.

Dębicki, Stanisław

196 Rain, 1892, oil on canv., NMC

197 Bathing in the Pruta, 1887, oil on canv., priv. coll.

508 Self-portrait, ca. 1900, oil on canv., NMC

509 *Reciprocal Portraits: Stanisław Dębicki and Damazy Kotowski*, 1893, oil on canv., NMC

525 Japanese Woman, 1900, oil on canv., LGA

636 Portrait of a Woman Reading a Newspaper, oil on canv., LGA

644-646 Bathing Women, ca. 1910-1920, oil on canv., MMP

Donau, Oskar

1089 Gazelles, 1918, linoleum, UAAV

Doshin, Kaigetsudô

539 Standing Courtesan, 1711-1736, woodbl., hand-applied col., BM

Eibisch, Eugeniusz

- 821 Landscape with a Bridge, 1919, oil on cardb., priv. coll.
1492 Landscape with a Bridge, 1919, oil on cardb., priv. coll.

Eisen, Keisai

- 201 Eight Views of Edo/Evening Glow at Ryôgoku Bridge, ca. 1845, woodbl., NMC
2032 A View of the Zôjôji Temple in Shiba/Views of Famous Places in the Eastern Capital, ca. 1840, woodbl., NMP

Eishi, Chôbunsai

- 244 Seyama, kamuro Iroka and Yukari/Opening of the New Quarters of the Matsubaya Quarters of the Matsubaya, 1795, woodbl., NMC
246 Hinazuru of the Chôjiya/Beauties of the Yoshiwara as Six Floral Immortals, 1794, woodbl., NMC

Eizan, Kikukawa

- 247 Shin Yoshiwara/Eight Views of Famous Places in the Eastern Capital, 1804-18, woodbl., NMC
248 Fûryû ukiyo sugata sôjô, 1804-18, woodbl., NMC

Ejsmond, Stanisław

- 1807 Irises, 1927, waterc., penc. on pap., priv. coll.
1809 White Roses, 1922, past. on cardb., priv. coll.
1810 Chrysanthemums, bf. 1935, waterc., gouache on pap., priv. coll.

Ekier, Jan

- 1639 Japanese Woman, 1949, oil on cardb., priv. coll.

Ensor, James

- 555 Still Life with Chinoiserie, 1907, oil on canv., MDDD

Exner, Hilde

2227 Design for a stenciled poster, ca. 1903-1904, lith., published in Die Fläche

Fabjański, Stanisław Igancy

1173 The 3rd Christmas Exhibition in Cracow, 1903, col. lith., NMC

1729 Landscape, oil on cardb., priv. coll.

Falat, Julian

33 *Świtez*, 1883, waterc. on pap., NMW

34 *On Świtez Lake*, 1883-4, waterc. on pap. on canv., NMW

37 Coach in Singapore, 1885, waterc. on pap., lost, after Illustrated Weekly, 1899 (2), p. 840

38 Two Chinese Men Resting, 1885, waterc. on pap., from a negative at PAS

39 Soap Bubbles in Japan, 1885, waterc. on pap., after Tygodnik Ilustrowany (Illustrated Weekly), 1904, p. 363

44 Aboard a Ship. Colombo, Ceylon, 1885, waterc. on pap., NMW

45 Aboard a Ship. Colombo, Ceylon, 1885, waterc., gouache on pap., NMW

46 Bear Hunting, 1888, oil on canv., BBM

47 Winter Landscape – Cracow, 1897, oil on canv., NMW

48 A View of Cracow in Autumn, 1897, oil on canv., priv. coll.

49 A View of Cracow, 1896, waterc. on pap., SMK

50 Cracow Planty in Winter, 1898, oil on canv., WSC

51 Self-portrait Against a View of Cracow, 1903, oil on canv., HMC

52 A View of Cracow, 1896, waterc. on pap., BBM

53 Cracow in Snow, 1904, waterc., pap., priv. coll.

54 Cracow in the Morning, 1897, oil on canv., NMW

55 *Nieświerz*, waterc., gouache, pap., priv. coll.

56 European Japanese Woman, 1893, aft. Illustrated Weekly, 1894 (1), p. 113; 1899 (2), p. 846

57 Girl in a Kimono, 1910, oil on canv., plywood, NMW

714 Elk Hunting, 1889, oil on canv., NMC

716 Winter Landscape, 1891, waterc. on pap., NMC

717 Beehives on Special Scaffolding, 1887, pencil on pap., NMC

718 Elk, 1920, waterc., pap., priv. coll.

- 719 Birch in the Fields, 1909, waterc., gouache, priv. coll.
- 720 Pines, waterc., gouache, priv. coll.
- 721 Wild Geese in Flight, 1909, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 724 Winter Landscape, 1915, oil on canv., NMC
- 725 Winter Landscape with a River, 1907, oil on canv., NMW
- 726 Creek in Snow, waterc. on plywood, priv. coll.
- 727 Wild Geese, ca. 1908, waterc. on pap., WSC, dep. Julian Fałat's House in Bystra
- 728 Ducks on Snow, 1916, oil on plywood, NMG
- 729 Village in Polesie, 1918, waterc. on cardb., priv. coll.
- 730 Osiek in Winter, 1910, waterc. on pap., BBM
- 731 Bystra, waterc., gouache on pap., priv. coll.
- 732 Winter Landscape: Bystra, ca. 1910, waterc. on pap., MMP
- 733 Winter in Polesie, ca. 1910-1920, waterc. on cardb., priv. coll.
- 734 Winter in Osiek, oil on cardb., priv. coll.
- 735 Bend of a River in Winter, 1907, oil on plywood, priv. coll.
- 736 Snow, 1907, oil on canv., LGA
- 737 Winter Landscape from Osiek, aft. 1900, waterc. on cardb. on canv., NMW
- 738 Snow, 1901, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.
- 739 Winter Landscape from Bystra, gouache on cardb., priv. coll.
- 740 Winter in Bystra, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.
- 741 Early Spring in Bystra, waterc., gouache on cardb., priv. coll.
- 742 Winter Landscape in Bystra, waterc., gouache on cardb., priv. coll.
743. Snow, 1907, oil on cardb., NMC
- 744 Osiek: Winter Landscape, 1912, oil on cardb., BBM
- 745 Snow, 1907, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 746 Winter Landscape: Osiek, 1908, waterc. on pap., BBM
- 747 Snow, 1907, waterc. on pap., BBM
- 748 Wawel Hill, oil on cardb., priv. coll.
- 749 Autumn Landscape with an Elk, 1908, waterc. on cardb., priv. coll.
- 750 Creek in Snow, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 751 Meandering River, waterc. on cardb., priv. coll.
- 752 Overflowing River, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.

- 753 Fast-flowing River, 1918, waterc. on cardb., priv. coll.
- 754 Meandering River, waterc. on cardb., priv. coll.
- 756 Creek in Snow, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 757 *Winter in Nieśwież*, oil on plywood, priv. coll.
- 758 Landscape with Giewont, 1906, waterc., gouache on pap. on canv., priv. coll.
- 759 Winter Landscape from Bystra, 1910, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 760 Winter Landscape from Bystra, waterc. on cardb., priv. coll.
- 761 Winter in the Beskids, waterc. on cardb., priv. coll.
- 762 Birches by the River in the Winter, waterc. on cardb., priv. coll.
- 763 *Winter in Nieśwież*, oil on plywood, priv. coll.
- 764 Winter in Bystra, 1917, waterc. on cardb., priv. coll.
- 765 Montmartre Cemetery in Paris, 1893, waterc., oil, temp. on pap., NMW
- 766 Snowy Burden, 1907, gouache, past. on pap., NMC
- 849 Landscape, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.
- 951 Raven, oil on cardb., priv. coll.
- 952 Talking Capercaillies, 1909, penc. on pap., priv. coll.
- 1706 *From Hunting in Nieśwież*, ca. 1920, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.
- 1707 Landscape from Bystra, 1919, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.
- 1708 Ice Floe on the Vistula, 1921, oil on plywood, priv. coll.
- 1709 Boats by the Bank of the Vistula, 1921, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.
- 1719 Forest in the Winter, 1925, waterc. on cardb., priv. coll.

Fantin-Latour, Henri

- 554 Still Life with Torso and Flowers, 1874, oil on canv., priv. coll.

Filipkiewicz, Mieczysław

- 1673 Flowers in a Vase, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1678 Roses in a Japanese Vase, oil on cardb., priv. coll.
- 1710 Panorama of the Tatras, 1930, oil on cardb., priv. coll.
- 1727 Winter Landscape, 1936, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.

Filipkiewicz, Stanisław

- 1684 Autumnal Flowers, waterc. on cardb., priv. coll.
 1689 Flowers in a Vase, oil on canv., priv. coll.
 1692 Flowers in a Vase, oil on canv., priv. coll.

Filipkiewicz, Stefan

- 577 Still Life with Roses and a Chinese Vase, 1912, oil on canv., priv. coll.
 579 Still Life with Roses and Porcelain, 1912, oil on canv., priv. coll.
 580 Flowers and Japanese Dolls, 1911, oil on canv., priv. coll., dep. RMSW
 581 Still Life with a Japanese Figurine, oil on canv., priv. coll.
 583 Still Life with a Chinese Vase, oil on canv., priv. coll.
 584 Interior, oil on cardb., priv. coll.
 585 Still Life, 1911, oil on canv., priv. coll.
 587 Anemones, ca. 1910, oil on canv., priv. coll., dep. RMSW
 588 Roses, oil on cardb., priv. coll.
 589 Roses, 1919, oil on canv., priv. coll.
 590 Still Life, oil on cardb., priv. coll.
 591 Still Life, oil on plywood, priv. coll.
 592 Yellow Roses in a Vase, oil on cardb., priv. coll.
 593 Still Life with Violets, 1904, oil on canv., priv. coll.
 768 Stream in Winter, 1904, oil on canv., priv. coll.
 770 Landscape with a River, oil on canv., priv. coll.
 771 Winter Landscape, oil on canv., priv. coll.
 772 Stream in Snow, oil on canv., priv. coll.
 773 Stream Winter, oil on canv., priv. coll.
 774 Mountain Stream in Winter, oil on canv., priv. coll.
 775 River in Winter, oil on canv., priv. coll.
 776 Stream in Winter, oil on canv., priv. coll.
 777 Stream in Winter Forest, 1919, oil on canv., priv. coll.
 778 Winter Landscape, oil on canv., priv. coll.
 779 Winter Landscape, oil on canv., priv. coll.
 780 Crystal Winter, ca. 1918, oil on canv., priv. coll.
 781 Winter Landscape, oil on canv., priv. coll.

- 824 Hoarfrost in the Tatras, 1914, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 871 View of the Tatras, 1904, oil on canv., NMW
- 877 A View of the Tatras in Winter, 1908, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 878 Mountain Landscape, past. on pap., priv. coll.
- 879 Winter in Krynica, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 880 Winter in the Mountains, past. on pap., priv. coll.
- 881 Melting Snow in the Tatras, oil on canv., NMC
- 1145 Church in Wola, 1906, woodbl., NMC
- 1147 Forest in Winter, 1900, woodbl., NMC
- 1148 In the Winter, 1906, woodbl., NMC
- 1152 Dwelling in the Snow-Winter in Rajcza, 1935, col. lith., NMC
- 1158 *Reformed Franciscans' Church in Cracow*, woodbl., NMC
- 1162 Landscape/Art for Children. Six Colourful Pictures, woodbl., NMC
- 1163 Sunflowers/Art for Children. Six Colourful Pictures, woodbl., NMC
- 1164 Landscape/Art for Children. Six Colourful Pictures, woodbl., NMC
- 1165 Beehives/Art for Children. Six Colourful Pictures, woodbl., NMC
- 1175 *The 3rd Artists' Ball 'Under the Giewont'*, 1903, col. lith., NMC
- 1659 Still Life, 1922, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1660 Roses, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1663 Still Life, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1667 Roses, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1671 Asters and Gladiolas, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1677 Roses, ca. 1934, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1690 Still Life with Porcelain and Flowers, 1923, oil on cardb., priv. coll.
- 1996 Wawel Castle, woodbl., NMC

Florkiewicz, Witold

- 1733 *View of Kościuszko Mound*, 1928, oil on cardb., priv. coll.

Foujita, Tsuguharu

- 1411 Japanese Woman, 1909, oil on canv., UTM
- 1412 Reading, 1926, etching, priv. coll.

- 1413 Kiku Yamata, 1926, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1415 Adoration, 1918, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1416 Portrait of Mrs. Y, 1935, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1417-1418 Japanese Legends (*The World's Most Beautiful Legends*), 1923, Paris: Abeille D'Or, TFAM
- 1419 A Street in Paris, 1918, oil on canv., NMMAT
- 1420 Two Lovers, 1926, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1421 Five Nudes, 1923, oil on canv., NMMAT
- 1422 Combing Woman, 1931, ink, waterc., pap., priv. coll.
- 1423 Nude with Tapestry, 1923, oil on canv., NMMAT
- 1424 Self-portrait in the Studio, 1926, oil on canv., MFAL
- 1425 Girl with a Flower, 1918, oil on canv., TPMFA
- 1426 Two Women, 1918, oil on canv., HMMAS
- 1427 A Schoolboy in a Black Top, 1918, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1428 Cats, 1932, oil on silk, priv. coll.
- 1429 Cats, 1940, oil on canv., NMMAT
- 1430 Sleeping Cat, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1431 Cat, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1432-1442 paintings of cats and dogs, 1920s-1930s

Fromowicz-Nassau, Maria

- 1666 Still Life with Imari Plate, 1919, oil on canv., priv. coll.

Frycz, Karol

- 302 *Invitation to 'Green Balloon' for a Press Review*, 1910, lith., pap., NMC
- 482 *Jasieński's Wawel*, 1905, past., on pap., lost, **Helena Lustgarten-Ogrodzka's** copy (1955), Wawel State Collections
- 486 Much Ado About Nothing: Europa Nonsens, 1905, from the catalogue for the 9th Exhibition of Sztuka published by The Green Balloon
- 937 Guinea-Hens with a Garden in the Background, 1903, collage, pap. on cardb., NMC
- 938 Brood Hen with Chickens, 1903, collage, pap. on cardb., NMC
- 1052 *Helena Sulima as Rachel in 'Wedding' by Stanisław Wyspiański/Teka Melpomeny*, 1904, col. lith. on pap., NMC

- 1167 The King—a *Group Scene* from ‘*Eros and Psyche*’ by Jerzy Żuławski/Teka Melpomeny, 1904, TMW
- 1168 Poster for ‘*Teka Melpomeny*’, 1904, lith., TMW
- 1169 *Andrzej Mielewski as Apolinary* in ‘*Anasztazja*’ by Eliza Orzeszkowa/Teka Melpomeny, 1904, lith., TMW
- 1170 *Michał Przybyłowicz as Stańczyk* in ‘*Wesele*’ by Stanisław Wyspiański/Teka Melpomeny, 1904, ink, crayon on pap., TMW
- 1176 Calendar for the Year 1910, 1910, lith., NMC
- 1181 The Tea with a Tower from the Szarski & Son Company, 1911, col. lith. on pap., NMC
- 1282 *Michał Tarasiewicz* in ‘*Anastazja*’ by Eliza Orzeszkowa, 1904, lith., HMC
- 1283 *Kazimierz Kamiński as Marquis Priola*, 1904, lith., HMC
- 1284 *M. Jednowski, A. Wasilewski and L. Stępowski* in ‘*Figaro’s Wedding*’ by A.C. Beaumarchais, 1904, lith. HMC
- 1285 *Zelwerowicz and Popławski*, 1904, lith., HMC
- 1286 frieze in the Hupkas’ Palace in Niwiski, ca. 1912
- 1287 frieze in the Hupkas’ Palace in Niwiski, ca. 1912
- 1288 Quails, 1903, vignette for *Liberum Veto*
- 1289 waistcoat for Szambelan’s costume, HMC
- 1290 Japanese Rooster/Zoological Sketches from Nature, 1903, *Liberum Veto*
- 1291 A Study from China, 1921, oil on cardb., NMW
- 1292 Service in a Temple, 1920, oil on cardb., priv. coll.
- 1293 Buddha, 1921, oil on cardb., WCSC
- 1294 The Interior of the Pagoda of Heaven in Peking, 1920, oil on card., NMC
- 1296 A View of a Roof with Dragons, 1920, drawing, priv. coll.
- 1297 The Interior of a Temple, 1921, waterc., priv. coll.
- 1298 Pagoda, 1920, lost
- 1299 The Interior of a Temple, 1920, lost
- 1300 A Scene from China, 1920, oil on cardb., priv. coll.
- 1301 Japanese Women in Tokyo, ca. 1919-1921, oil on canv., NMK
- 1302 Japanese Women in Tokyo, 1945, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1305 Korytnica, ca. 1925, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1306 stage design for *Zabobon, czyli Krakowiacy i Górale*, Polski Theatre, Warsaw, 1913, penc., waterc., pap., TMW

- 1307 stage design for Zabobon, czyli Krakowiacy i Górale, Polski Theatre, Warsaw, 1913, penc., waterc., pap., TMW
- 1308 stage design for The Woman Who Committed a Murder by Sidney Garrick in Polski Theatre in Warsaw, 1921, penc., waterc., ink, crayon, pap., TMW
- 1309 The Interior of a Port and a Bar in Shanghai, stage design for Czerwony Mak (Red Poppy), by Reinhold Glier in Wrocław Opera, 1952, waterc. on pap., JUL
- 1310 stage design for Mandarin Wu by Owen and Vernon, Polski Theatre in Warsaw, 1927, ph., TMW
- 1311 stage design for Red Poppy by Glier, Wrocław Opera, 1952, ph., WOA
- 1312 stage design for Pan swego serca, Polski Theatre in Warsaw, 1924, ph., TMW
- 1313 Desert, stage design, penc., waterc., ink, pap., TMW
- 1314-1317 costume designs for Mandarin Wu by Owen and Vernon, Polski Theatre in Warsaw, 1927, ph., TMW

Galek, Stanisław

- 786 A Creek in Winter, ca. 1910, oil on cardb., priv. coll.
- 787 Mountain Gale, 1928, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 788 Winter, ca. 1910, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 864 A Lake in the Mountains, 1912, NMW
- 872 The Tatras, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 873 Morskie Oko, 1909, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 874 Black Pond, 1921, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1720 Mountain Gale, 1928, waterc., priv. coll.
- 1721 Forest in the Fog, 1932, oil on cardb., priv. coll.
- 1819 Apple Blossom, 1928, oil on canv., priv. coll.

Gałęzowska, Jadwiga

- 1711 Snow-Covered Roofs, 1928, oil on plywood, NMC

Gauguin, Paul

- 58 *Portrait of Władysław Ślewiński with a Bouquet of Flowers*, 1891, oil on canv., NMWAT
- 63 The Wave, 1888, oil on canv., priv. coll.

- 64 The Beach at le Pouldu, 1889, oil on canv., priv. coll.
 551 Still Life with a Fan, 1889, oil on canv., priv. coll.
 1067 Nave Fenue (Delightful Land), 1893-1894, woodbl., MoMA

Gedliczka, Zdzisław

- 1185 Rembrandt of the Far East, 1913, lith., NMC
 2008 *Poster for the 'Uciecha' Theatre*, 1919, NMC

Gizbert, Maria

- 2166 blind, early 20 c., silk, flat stitch, shading with colour floss, NMC

Glasner, Jakub

- 790 Winter Evening in the Forest, 1908, oil on canv., BBM
 791 Wintersonne, 1908, oil on cardb., BBM
 792 Winter Landscape with a Creek in the Forest, 1912, oil on canv., BBM
 793 Forest with a Creek, 1910, oil on canv., BBM
 794 Winter Landscape, oil on canv., priv. coll.
 1114 Grunwald Lake, ca. 1913, linocut, NMC
 1143 Giewont, 1908, mezzotint, NMC
 1144 Funfair in Wadowice, 1918, etching, NMC
 1149 A Motif from Zakopane, 1907, woodbl. NMC
 1150 Winter Landscape with a Creek, 1913, woodbl., NMC
 1151 Zakopane in Winter, woodbl., NMC
 1156 A View of Kanonicza St from Wawel, col. lith., 1892, NMC
 1722 Mosteratsch – a Valley in the Swiss Alps, 1930, woodbl., BBM

Van Gogh, Vincent

- 495 Portrait of Pere Tanguy, 1887-1888, oil on canv., TB
 2054 Flowering Plum Tree – Japonaiserie, 1887, oil on canv., VGMA

Goryńska, Wiktoria

- 1835 Turkeys, interwar period, woodbl., JUL

- 1838 Cat, interwar period, woodbl., priv. coll.
- 1839 Pekingese Dog, 1920s, woodbl., JUL
- 1840 Dappled Angora Cat V, 1935, linocut, NMW
- 1841 *Cat's Head*, 1925, woodbl., JUL
- 1842 Black Cat, 1925, woodbl., JUL
- 1843 Siamese Cat, 1935, woodbl., JUL
- 1844 Dog, interwar period, woodbl., priv. coll.
- 1845 Dog, interwar period, woodbl., priv. coll.
- 1846 No 57, 1932, copperplate, priv. coll.
- 1847 Bulldog-Dragon 57, 1932, copperplate, priv. coll.
- 1848 Sleepy Cat, 1937, woodbl. NMW
- 1849 Cat, interwar period, woodbl., priv. coll.

Gottlieb, Leopold

- 1137 Funeral, 1904, col. lith., UWL
- 1510 Women and a Tulip, oil on canv., NMC
- 1511 White Women, oil on canv., NMW
- 1512 Three Women, 1932, oil, gouache on cardb., priv. coll.
- 1513 Washing Women, 1931-1934, oil on cardb., priv. coll.
- 1514 Woman at the Table, 1932, oil on canv., priv. coll.

Gottlieb, Maurycy

- 32 Japanese Woman, 1879, oil on wood, priv. coll.

Grott, Teodor

- 1625 Manggha Dressed in a Kimono, 1920, oil on canv., NMC
- 1676 Marsh Muds, 1919, waterc. on cardb., priv. coll.
- 1681 Chrysanthemums, waterc. on cardb., priv. coll.
- 1695 Marsh Muds, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.
- 1697 Flowers in a Vase, oil on cardb., priv. coll.
- 1736 Flowers in the Window, 1920, waterc. on cardb., priv. coll.
- 1737 Venice from *the Window of the Artist's Studio*, waterc. on cardb., priv. coll.

Grus, Kazimierz

1830 Portrait of a Cat, 1927, penc., ink on pap., priv. coll.

Gumowski, Jan Kanty

842 Autumn Leaves, 1911, oil on canv., priv. coll.

Gwozdecki, Gustaw

600 Hyacinth, 1901-1902, oil on canv., LM

1394 Still Life with a Japanese Doll, 1911, oil on canv., SMK

1395 Japanese Dolls (Dolls II), ca. 1911, oil on canv. , priv. coll.

1396 A Man in a Beret (Self-portrait), ca. 1911, oil on canv., priv. coll.

1397 Portrait in a Winged Hat (Portrait of Kazimiera Felix), ca. 1911, oil on
canv., NMW

1398 The Head of a Young Man, ca. 1913, gouache on pap., priv. coll.

1399 Dolls on a Cushion (Japanese Dolls II), ca. 1911, oil on canv., lost

1495 Etna, oil on canv., priv. coll.

1497 Kiki of Montparnasse (Head of a Young Woman), ca. 1920, oil on board,
priv. coll.

1498 Kiki of Montparnasse II, ca. 1920, oil on board, priv. coll.

1499 Head of a Girl, ca. 1920, oil on board, priv. coll.

1500 Female Head, ca. 1915-1918, penc. on pap., priv. coll.

1501 Head, ca. 1915-1918, monotype on pap., priv. coll.

1502 Head of a Woman, ca. 1915-1919, penc. on pap., priv. coll.

1503 Head of a Woman, ca. 1910, crayon, charcoal on pap., KFNy

1504 Man with a Cigarette, ca. 1915-1919, penc. on pap., priv. coll.

1505 Head of a Woman without Face, 1915-1919, penc. on pap., KFNy

1506 Head of a Woman, ca. 1915-1919, penc. on pap., priv. coll.

1507 Head of a Woman with Eastern Features, ca. 1915-1918, monotype on pap.,
priv. coll.

1508 Squatting Nude, 1912, lost

1509 Male Head (Self-portrait), ca. 1913, penc. on pap., priv. coll.

1515 Kneeling Nude, ca. 1928, monotype on pap., NMW

- 1516 By the Grove, 1935, oil on canv., priv. coll.
 1812 Water Lilies, ca. 1920-1924, oil on canv., priv. coll.

Halicka, Alicja

- 1463 An Interior Scene with a Portrait of Daughter, oil on cardb., priv. coll.
 1480 penc., waterc. on pap., priv. coll.
 1481 Paris, 1930s, oil on cardb., priv. coll.
 1490 Les Tuilleries, oil on board, priv. coll.

Harunobu, Suzuki

- 40 Woman Blowing Bubbles with Child, ca. 1765-70, woodbl., BM
 126 Woman Turning a Shamisen, 1768-1769, woodbl., ink on pap., BM
 240 Children with a Cat and Month: Mouse, 1768-69, woodbl., NMC
 1414 Crow and heron, 1796, woodbl., priv. coll.
 2035 Oiran/Beauties of the Green Houses, 1770, woodbl., NMP

Hasegawa, Kiyoshi

- 1450 priv. coll.

Hecht, Józef

- 1558 Cat/États, 1938, etching, priv. coll.
 1559 Tiger/États, 1934, etching, priv. coll.
 1560 Tiger Cub/États, 1934, etching, priv. coll.
 1561 In the Himalayas/États, 1934-1935, etching, The Louvre
 1562 Asia/Atlas of the World, 1928, etching, priv. coll.
 1563 Two Tigers/États, 1920-1923, wood engraving, priv. coll.
 1564 Lioness and Zebra/États, 1920s, etching, priv. coll.
 1565 Tigers and Deer/États, 1926, dry point, etching, priv. coll.
 1566 Leopard and Lama/États, 1924-1926, etching, priv. coll.
 1567 Hunting at the Seashore/États, 1931, etching, priv. coll.
 1568 Maternal Zebra, 1945/1946, etching, priv. coll.
 1569 Zebra/États, 1920-1923, wood engraving, priv. coll.

- 1570 Hunting Lion/États, 1924-1926, etching, priv. coll.
- 1571 Resting Eagle/États, 1930s, etching, priv. coll.
- 1572 Pigeon/États, 1936, etching, priv. coll.
- 1573 Two Peacocks, 1948-1951, embossing, priv. coll.
- 1574 Three Seagulls, 1930, priv. coll.
- 1575 Bruyere Cockerel and White Pedrix/États, 1936, wood engraving., priv. coll.
- 1576 Young Buzzard/États, 1951, wood engraving, priv. coll.
- 1577 Cockerels of Boserup Briars/États, 1936, etching, priv. coll.
- 1578 Heron I/États, 1920-1923, dry point, priv. coll.
- 1579 Doe and Flamingo/États, 1936 or 1945, etching, priv. coll.
- 1580 Bird of Prey in Flight/États, 1920, dry point, priv. coll.
- 1581 Condor II, 1930s, etching, priv. coll.
- 1582 Perched Cacatoe/États, 1920-1923, dry point, priv. coll.
- 1583 Seagull/États, 1937, etching, The Louvre
- 1584 *Eagle's Head*/États, 1920-1923, dry point, priv. coll.
- 1585 Seagull/États, 1927-1928, etching, priv. coll.
- 1586 Turkey/États, 1937, etching, priv. coll.
- 1587 Pigeon/États, etching, priv. coll.
- 1588 Rooster/États, etching, priv. coll.
- 1589 Four Ducks/États, 1927-1928, etching, priv. coll.
- 1590 Ducks of the North/États, 1927-1928, etching, priv. coll.
- 1591 Pelican/États, 1920-1923, dry point, priv. coll.
- 1592 Two Vultures/États, 1920-1923, dry point, priv. coll.
- 1593 Condor I/États, 1920-1923, dry point, priv. coll.
- 1594 Two Cormorants/États, 1925-1928, dry point, etching, priv. coll.
- 1595 Egret/États, 1920-1923, dry point, priv. coll.
- 1596 Crow/États, 1936, etching, priv. coll.
- 1597 Birds on a Branch, 1930s, etching, priv. coll.
- 1598 Ibises/Atlas of the World, 1928, etching, priv. coll.
- 1599 Rooster, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1600 Rooster/États, 1930s, etching, priv. coll.
- 1601 Dead Bird/États, 1923-1926, etching, priv. coll.

- 1602 Ostrich/États, 1920-1923, dry point, priv. coll.
- 1603 Cormorant Island/Atlas of the World, 1928, etching, priv. coll.
- 1604 America/Atlas of the World, 1928, etching, priv. coll.
- 1605 Two Penguins/États, 1927, etching, priv. coll.
- 1606 Monkey/États, 1926, etching, priv. coll.
- 1607 Scorpion/États, 1940, etching, priv. coll.
- 1608 The Head of a Dead Deer/États, 1934, etching, priv. coll.
- 1609 Wild Boar/États, 1934, etching, priv. coll.
- 1610 *Deer's Head*/États, 1934, etching, priv. coll.
- 1611 Gazelles and Deer II/États, 1930, wood engraving, priv. coll.
- 1612 Dying Hart/États, 1929, etching, priv. coll.
- 1613 Big Koundou (Indian Gazelle)/États, 1932, etching, priv. coll.
- 1614 Dorcas Gazelle/États, 1934, etching, priv. coll.
- 1615 Gnu I/États, 1933, etching, priv. coll.
- 1616. Indochinese Harts/États, etching, priv. coll.
- 1617. Lying Bison/États, 1927, etching, priv. coll.
- 1618 Pig/États, 1933, wood engraving, priv. coll.
- 1619 Fox and Grapes/États, 1925, etching, priv. coll.
- 1620 Zebra with Palm Trees/États, 1925, etching, priv. coll.
- 1621 Merino Sheep/États, 1934, etching, priv. coll.
- 1622 *The Deluge/Noah's Ark*, 1926, etching, priv. coll.
- 1623 Composition III/États, 1925, etching, priv. coll.
- 1624 Composition, etching, priv. coll.

Hiroshige, Utagawa

- 194 Fifty-Three Stations of the Tōkaidō/Sudden Rain at Shono, 1833- 1834, woodbl. on pap., NMC
- 203 Moon Pine Ueno/One Hundred Famous Views of Edo, 1857, woodbl., NMC
- 205 Open Garden at Fukagawa Hachiman Shrine/One Hundred Famous Views of Edo, 1857, woodbl., NMC
- 207 Japanese and Chinese Verses for Recitation/Man Crossing a Bridge in the Snow, woodbl., NMC
- 209 Winter Snow at Kambara/Fifty-Three Stations of the Tōkaidō, 1833-1834, woodbl., NMC

- 211 Fukagawa Susaki and Jûmantsubo/One Hundred Famous Views of Edo, 1857, woodbl., NMC
- 213 Minowa Kanasugi Mikawashima/One Hundred Famous Views of Edo, 1857, woodbl., NMC
- 251 Snow, Moon and Flowers: Snow in Kisoji, 1857, woodbl., NMC
- 254 True Summer Moon/Three Views of the Moon in the Eastern Capital, 1847-1852, woodbl., NMC
- 255 Summer Irises at the Yatsubashi Bridge in the Mikawa Province and the Poet Arihara no Narihira/Flowers of the Four Seasons with Historical Associations, 1844-1848, woodbl., NMC
- 257 Shower at the Foot of the Mountain/Thirty-six Views of Mt Fuji, 1831-1834, woodbl., NMC
- 259 Fireworks Over Ryôgoku Bridge, 1847-1850, woodbl., NMC
- 478 Barges on the Yotsugi-dori canal/100 Famous Views of Edo, 1856-1858, woodbl., NMC
- 479 Surugachô/100 Famous Views of Edo, 1856-1858, woodbl., NMC
- 480 Rainstorm at Yamabushidani/Famous Views of the Sixty-odd Provinces, woodbl., NMC
- 499 Clear Weather After Snow at Kameyama/Fifty-Three Stations of the Tôkaidô, 1833-1834, woodbl., NMC
- 513 View from Massaki on the Grove near Suijin Shrine, the Uchigawa Inlet and Sekiya Village/One Hundred Famous Views of Edo, 1856-1858, woodbl., NMC
- 514 Kinryûzan Temple in Asakusa/Hundred Famous Views of Edo, 1856-1858, woodbl., NMC
- 696 Horikiri Iris Garden/One Hundred Famous Views of Edo, 1857, woodbl., NMC
- 700 Seki/53 Stations of the Tôkaidô, 1855, woodbl., W. Weiss's coll.
- 702 Fujisawa/Fifty-Three Stations of the Tôkaidô-Koban, 1842-1845, woodbl., Wojciech Weiss's coll.
- 713 Nihonbashi: Cleared-up Weather After Snow/One Hundred Famous Views of Edo, 1856, woodbl., Wojciech Weiss's coll.
- 722 Shinobazu Pond at Ueno/Famous Views of Edo, 1852, woodbl., NMC
- 723 Benkeibori Moat at Sotosakurada/Famous Views of Edo, 1854, woodbl., NMC
- 813 Meguro Drum Bridge and Sunset Hill/100 Famous Views of Edo, 1856-1859, woodbl., NMC

- 869 Mt Utsu at Okabe/Fifty-Three Stations of the Tōkaidō, 1833-1834, NMC
- 2031 Morning Fog in Mishima/Fifty-Three Stations of the Tōkaidō, 1833-1834, woodbl., NMP
- 2042 Fishes and Prawns, ca. 1840, woodbl., NMP
- 2043 Mandarin Ducks/Twenty-five Depictions of Flowers and Birds, 1832-1834, woodbl., NMP
- 2052 The Plum Garden at Kameido/One Hundred Famous Views of Edo, 1856-1859, woodbl., NMC
- 2150 The Sumiyoshi Festival at Tsukudaijima/One Hundred Famous Views of Edo, 1856-1859, woodbl., NMC
- 2151 Suidō Bridge at the Surugadai Quarter/One Hundred Famous Views of Edo, 1856-1859, woodbl., NMC
- 2144 Fireworks by Ryōgoku Bridge/One Hundred Famous Views of Edo, 1856-1859, woodbl., NMC

Hiroshige II, Utagawa

- 755 Kintaibashi in Snow/One Hundred Views of Famous Places in Various Provinces, 1859, woodbl., NMC

Hiroataka, Itaya Keishū

- 264 Monamoto no Shigato Composing a Poem (fragment), 1828-1831, kakemono, waterc., ink and gold on silk, NMC

Hodler, Ferdinand

- 455 Eurythmy, 1895, oil on canv., MAB

Hoffmann, Josef

- 2224 Wiener Werkstätte exhibition, Mannheim Kunsthalle, 1907
- 2226 Design for textile pattern for Backhausen dess. 5147 VINETA (Swotter), 1904, priv. coll.
- 2228 Streber, 1904, length of woven fabric made by Joh. Backhausen & Söhne, Vienna

Hokusai, Katsushika

- 41 Koku-chō District, ca. 1820, detail of upper h. of sheet with preliminary ink drawings for two sheets in the series Shinpan daidō izu, HM

- 124 Woman Reading a Letter, ca. 1818-1830, ink, colour on silk, BMFA
- 292 Manga, 1814-1878, NMC
- 366-382 Woodbl. prints by **Katsushika Hokusai** and **Utagawa Hiroshige** from Wojciech Weiss's coll.
- 449 Rokurokubi (Long-necked Demon), ink on pap., priv. coll.
- 450 The Dish Mansion/One Hundred Ghost Stories, 1830, woodbl., priv. coll.
- 453 Manga, 1814-1878, woodbl. printed book, NMC
- 461 Dawn at Isawa in Kai Province/Thirty-Six Views of Mt Fuji, 1826-1833, woodbl., NMC
- 469 Ejiri in the Suruga Province/Thirty-Six Views of Mt Fuji, 1826-1833, woodbl., NMC
- 665 Female diver being pleased by an octopus., opening from the illustrated book *Kinoe no komatsu*, 1814, woodbl., BM
- 673 The Great Wave of Kanagawa/Thirty-Six Views of Mt Fuji, ca. 1930, woodbl., NMC
- 827 Lightning Beneath the Summit/Thirty-Six Views of Mt Fuji, 1830-1833, woodbl., NMC
- 1111 Suwa Lake in the Shinshu Province/Fifty-Three Stations of the Tōkaidō, 1830s, NMC
- 1113 Hodogaya on the Tōkaidō/Thirty-Six Views of Mt Fuji, 1826-1833, woodbl., NMC
- 1202 Bulrush harvesting/A True Mirror of Chinese and Japanese Poetry, 1832-1833, woodbl., NMW
- 1383 Suwa Lake in Shinshu Province/Thirty-six Views of Mt Fuji, 1830s, woodbl., NMC
- 2009 The Ghost of Oiwa/One Hundred Ghost Stories, 1830, woodbl., priv. coll.
- 2033 The Great Wave of Kanagawa/Thirty-Six Views of Mt Fuji, 1826-1833, woodbl., NMP

Hokusai, school of

- 1188 Eagle and Pine, sketch, ink on pap., BM

Homolacs, Karol

- 2173-2174 decorative panes for The Museum of Technology and Industry in Cracow, 1911, NMC

- 2175-2177 decorative panes for The Museum of Technology and Industry in Cracow, 1911, NMC
- 2178-2181 decorative panes for The Museum of Technology and Industry in Cracow, 1911, NMC
- 2222 The Issue of Method in Art Schools, 1925

Hôzan

- 1203 jar, 19/20 c., Satsuma faïence painted with overglaze colour enamels and gold, NMW

Indenbaum, Leon

- 1461 Head of Foujita, 1915, bronze, priv. coll.

Iwanowski, Błażej

- 1688 Mimosa, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1691 Mimosa, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1694 Roses, 1923, oil on cardb., priv. coll.

Jagmin, Stanisław

- 2191-2194 ceramics, ca. 1901, NMC

Jahl, Władysław

- 1483 Ina Garden in Siguenza, 1926, waterc., penc. on pap., priv. coll.
- 1486 Man in a Landscape, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1487 Four Locomotives, 1931, oil on canv., NMW

Jarocki, Władysław

- 846 Golden Autumn in Snow, 1937, oil on canv., JKMZ
- 1153 Birch Trunks, col. lith., NMC
- 1159 The Barbican and the Florian Gate in Winter, col. lith., NMC
- 1739 *View from the Studio's Window*, 1924, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.
- 1740 A View of the Barbican in Cracow, 1942, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.
- 1741 *View from the Studio's Window*, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.

Jasiński, Feliks

- 1054 The Creation of Woman, 1900, woodbl. on pap., NMC
- 1055 Woman and Man in a Pond, 1900, woodbl. on pap., NMC
- 1056 *Christ's Head*, 1900, woodbl. on pap., NMC
- 1057 At the Edge of a Lake, 1900, woodbl. on pap., NMC
- 1058 Self-portrait with a Caterpillar, 1900, woodbl. on pap., NMC
- 1059 Temptation, 1900, woodbl. on pap., NMC
- 1060 *Qu'importe*, ca. 1901, woodbl. on pap., NMW
- 1061 The Head of a Bearded Man, 1900, woodbl. on pap., NMC
- 1069 Garden in the Winter, ca. 1900, woodbl., NMC
- 1070 Cemetery in Ballancourt, ca. 1900, woodbl., NMC
- 1071 Ballancourt at Night, ca. 1900, woodbl., NMC
- 1072 On the Way, ca. 1900, woodbl., NMC
- 1073 Japan, woodbl., NLW
- 1074 Mountains at Seaside, woodbl., NMC

Jastrzębowski, Wojciech

- 1121 Trees, 1909, col. lith., NMC
- 1180 *Swooszowice' Spa near Cracow*, 1907, col. lith. on pap., NMC
- 2211 Cracow Workshops logo on a vase, 1913, NMC
- 2215 batik on silk with the ishidadamimon motif, 1915, NMC
- 2220 Radiator screen, 1913-1914, ash, brass, CAFA
- 2221 Radiator screen, 1913-1914, ash, brass, CAFA
- 2234 wall decoration in the atrium of the Polish pavilion at the 1925 Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels Modernes in Paris, 1925, CAFAL
- 2235 wall decoration with the Cracow coat of arms in the atrium of the Polish pavilion at the 1925 Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels Modernes in Paris, 1925, sgraffito, CAFAL
- 2237 fireplace in the Polish pavilion at the 1925 Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels Modernes in Paris, made by Marmury Kieleckie, 1925, CAFAL

Jaźwiecki, Franciszek

855 *With the Sun in One's Eyes*, 1934, oil on canv., NMC

John, Gwen

549 The Japanese Doll, 1920s, oil, canv., priv. coll.

1389 The Japanese Doll, oil on canv., priv. coll.

Kamieński, Antoni

297 The Actress Sada Yacco, aft. Józef Jankowski's Kesa, Warsaw, 1910

Kamocki, Stanisław

782 Zakopane, oil on canv., priv. coll.

783 Church in Radziszów, oil on canv., priv. coll.

826 Giewont, oil on cardb., priv. coll.

852 Apple Tree in Bloom, oil on canv., priv. coll.

854 View of the Monastery in Czerna, ca. 1908, oil on canv., NMC

875 Melting Snow, ca. 1910, oil on canv., priv. coll.

910 Flowers in Front of a Hut, ca. 1905, oil on plywood, NMG

1182 *Artists' Ball at Saski Hotel*, 1900, col. lith., NMC

1801 A Branch of Hawthorn, penc. on pap., priv. coll.

1820 Rowan, crayon on pap., priv. coll.

Kanelbaum, Raymund

1517 Boy with a Sword, oil on canv., priv. coll.

1518 Girl Daydreaming, oil on board, priv. coll.

1519 Girl in a White Blouse, mixed technique, priv. coll.

1520 Suzanne, waterc., ink, priv. coll.

1521 Arab Girl, waterc., gouache, oil on board, priv. coll.

1522 Woman in Red, gouache on board, priv. coll.

1523 Woman, gouache on pap., priv. coll.

1524 Lady with Pearls, ca. 1950, oil on canv., priv. coll.

1525 Woman in a Veil, gouache on pap., priv. coll.

1526 *Children's Orchestra*, oil on canv., priv. coll.

- 1527 Woman, gouache on pap., priv. coll.
 1528 Lucille, ca. 1950, waterc., gouache on board, priv. coll.
 1529 Girl with a Scarf, oil on canv., priv. coll.
 1530 Ballerina Maria Tallchief, gouache on board, priv. coll.
 1531 Veiled Woman, gouache on pap., priv. coll.

Kanô school

- 263 Nehan-zu (Buddha Entering Nirvana), 17 c., kakemono, ink, waterc., gold on silk, NMC

Karpiński, Alfons

- 301 Portrait of Painters in Jama Michalika, ca. 1905, oil on canv., NMWr
 640 Jane the Model, 1908, oil on canv., NMC
 823 Creek in the Forest, 1903, pencil on pap., priv. coll.
 886 Lido, 1907, oil on plywood, MAŁ
 891 Garden at Dusk, 1916, oil on canv., USMB
 935 Primroses, oil on cardb., priv. coll.
 1404 Jane with a Japanese Doll, 1909, oil on canv., NMC
 1467 *The Portrait of Julian Falat's Daughter*, 1923, oil on cardb., SMO
 1465 Female Nude, ca. 1918, oil on canv., JMMR
 1466 *The Interior of the Artist's Studio in Paris*, ca. 1919, oil on canv. on cardb., TM
 1467 A Bridge in Paris, 1909, oil on canv., NMC
 1646 Still Life with a Bouquet of Roses, ca. 1925, oil on cardb., NMP
 1647 Still Life, oil on cardb., priv. coll.
 1648 Still Life, interwar period, oil on cardb., JMMR
 1649 Marsh Muds, 1932, oil on cardb., NMS
 1650 White Roses, oil on cardb., priv. coll.
 1651 Golden Roses in a Chinese Vase, 1920s, oil on canv., priv. coll.
 1652 Roses in a Vase, oil on cardb., priv. coll.
 1653 Still Life with Flowers, oil on cardb., priv. coll.
 1654 Roses in a Vase, oil on cardb., priv. coll.
 1655 Still Life, oil on canv., priv. coll.

- 1656 Golden Roses, 1920s, oil on cardb., priv. coll.
- 1657 Yellow Flowers on the Grand Piano, 1921, oil on cardb., NMW
- 1662 Still Life with a Bouquet of Roses, interwar period, oil on cardb., priv. coll.
- 1674 Still Life with Flowers and a Japanese Figurine, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1682 Interior with a White Cat, 1928, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1683 Yellow Roses, oil on cardb., priv. coll.
- 1685 Anemones, oil on cardb., priv. coll.
- 1686 Still Life with a Bouquet of Flowers, 1946, oil on cardb., priv. coll.
- 1687 Yellow Roses, oil on cardb., priv. coll.
- 1815 Autumn, interwar period, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1823 Siamese Cat, oil on cardb., priv. coll.
- 1825 Cat, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.
- 1826 Cat, oil on cardb., priv. coll.
- 1827 Cat, 1928, penc., charcoal on cardb., priv. coll.
- 1828 White Cat, oil on cardb., priv. coll.

Karszniewicz, Jerzy

- 822 Winter Landscape, oil on plywood, priv. coll.

Kenzan, Ogata, school of

- 955 Daruma and Tiger, ink on pap, BM

Kikoku

- 229 Flowers of the Four Seasons, early 19 c., two-fold screen, waterc., gold and silver foil on pap., NMC
- 534 Flowers of the Four Seasons, early 19 c., two-fold screen, waterc., gold and silver foil on pap., NMC

Kinkozan

- 1204 korô vase, 19/20 c., Satsuma faïence painted with overglaze colour enamels and gold, NMW
- 1221 Vase with floral decoration and 'brocaded' ornament, late 19 c., Satsuma faïence painted with overglaze colour enamels and gold, NMW

Kirigaya, Senrin

- 1265 The Great Kantô Earthquake Ruins of Ginza, 1920s, priv. coll.
1266 The Great Kantô Earthquake, 1920s, priv. coll.
1267 scroll, priv. coll.

Kisling, Moïse

- 1496 Nude Arletty, 1933, oil on canv., priv. coll.
1536 Buste Nu, 1930, oil on canv., priv. coll.
1537 Kiki of Montparnasse, 1925, oil on canv., priv. coll.
1538 Nude in Landscape, col. lith., priv. coll.
1539 Nude, oil on canv., priv. coll.
1540 Kiki of Montparnasse, oil on canv., priv. coll.
1541 Young Woman with Long Hair, oil on canv., priv. coll.
1542 Girl, 1930s, oil on canv., priv. coll.
1543 Young Woman, 1934, oil on canv., priv. coll.
1544 Girl, oil on canv., priv. coll.
1545 Man, oil on canv., priv. coll.

Kiyonaga, Torii

- 242 Utagawa of the Yotsumeya, kamuro Utano and Utaki/Models for Fashion: New Year Designs as Fresh as Young Leaves, 1783, woodbl., NMC
243 Chôzan of the Chôjiya, kamuro Shiori and Tsumagi/Models for Fashion: New Year Designs as Fresh as Young Leaves, 1782, woodbl., NMC
669 Autumn Moon on the Sumida River, woodbl., BM
1048 Interior of a Bathhouse, woodbl., ink, col., BMFA
1049 Flowers/A Combination of Three Colours: Snow, Moon and Flowers, ca. 1784, woodbl., ink, col., BMFA
1050 Two Women and a Maid/Current Manners in Eastern Brocade, ca. 1783, woodbl., ink, col., BMFA

Kiyoshi, Takizawa

- 2223 Karakusa moyo hinagata (pattern book), 1884, woodcut book, Austrian Museum of Fine Arts, Vienna

Klimowski, Stanisław

1679 Gladiolas in a Japanese Vase, 1948, past. on cardb., priv. coll.

Klimt, Gustav

939 The Maiden, 1913, oil on canv., NMPr

940 Death and Life, 1916, oil on canv., priv. coll.

Klukowski, Ignacy

1634 int. per., priv. coll.

Kochanowski, Roman

217 Nocturne, ca. 1900. oil on canv., priv. coll.

219 Landscape with Poplars, 1900, oil on canv., priv. coll.

563 Still Life, ca. 1905, oil on cardb., priv. coll.

Kogut, Józefa

2212 the artist's monogram on a batik-painted box, 1921, NMC

2214 tapestry with the motifs of the Chinese wave motif and the Japanese-derived
ishidatamimon, 1923, NMC

2216 batik sample on silk, 1919, NMC

2217 tablecloth, 1926, batik on silk, NMC

2218 a page from the artist's pattern book, EMC

Kogut, Zofia

2213 the artist's monogram on a batik-painted scarf, 1921, NMC

Komorowska, Wanda

1133 Spruce Trees, NMC

1899 White Peonies, interwar period, aquatint, NMC

1900 Yellow Flowers, interwar period, aquatint, etching, NMC

1901 Garden Poppies, interwar period, aquatint, etching, NMC

1902 Flowers in Two Vases, , interwar period, aquatint, etching, NMC

1903 Poppies in a Vase, interwar period, aquatint, etching, NMC

1904	Tomatoes on the Vine, interwar period, aquatint, etching, NMC
1905	Landscape with a Red Roof of a House, interwar period, aquatint, etching, NMC
1906	Cineraria, interwar period, aquatint, NMC
1907	Water Lilies in Two Vases, interwar period, aquatint, etching, NMC
1908	Sunflowers, interwar period, aquatint, etching, NMC
1909	Water Lilies, interwar period, aquatint, NMC
1910	Water Lilies, interwar period, aquatint, NMC
1911	Landscape with a Red Roof, interwar period, aquatint, etching, NMC
1999	Panorama of Cracow with Wawel, aquatint, etching, NMC

Konarska, Janina

1896	Horse and a Donkey, 1962, linocut, NMC
1971	Skiing, 1931, woodb., NMC
1973	Tennis, 1931, woodb., NMC
1974	Football, 1931, woodb., NMC

Konieczny, Włodzimierz

1068	Standing Boy, 1909, etching, NMW
1118	Fantastical Composition, 1907, lith., NMC
1126	Darkness, 1909, etching, NMC

Kôrin, Ogata

114	Red and White Plum Trees, two-fold screen, ca. 1715, Museum of Art, Atami
954	Crows and the Moon, woodbl., priv. coll.
1367	Yatsushashi (Eight-Planked Bridge), aft. 1710, a pair of 6-panel screens, ink, col., gilded pap., NMAAT

Koryûsai, Isoda

42	A Beauty Blowing Bubbles, ca. 1770, RMAHB
239	Eight Views of Fukagawa, ca. 1772-1781, woodbl., NMC
249	Lion, 1772-1781, woodbl., NMC
671	untitled shunga series, ca. 1770-1771, woodbl., BM

1047 Interior of a Bathhouse, woodbl., ink, col., BMFA

Kowalewski, Bronisław

867 Pine by a Lake, 1912, oil on canv., priv. coll.

Kowalski, Leon

1627 Portrait of Wife (Red Kimono), ca. 1925, oil on canv., NMC

1981 *St Cross's Church in Cracow*, woodbl., priv. coll.

1982 Kra on the Vistula, woodbl., priv. coll.

1983 Wawel, woodbl., priv. coll.

Koyô

1201 Three Horses by a Bucket, ca. 1900-1919, ink, waterc. on silk, NMW

Kozakiewicz, Antoni

1831 Turkeys, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.

Koźniewska, Maria

527 Portrait of a Lady in a Kimono, ca. 1910, oil on canv., NMP

Kramsztyk, Roman

1376 Provençal Landscape with Goats, ca. 1918-1921, mixed technique, priv. coll.

1377 A Village in the Mountains, ca. 1914, oil on canv., priv. coll.

1378 A Town by the Bay (Provençal Landscape), ca. 1914, oil on canv., priv. coll.

1458 Portrait of a Woman in a Kimono, ca. 1910-1912, oil on canv., priv. coll.

Krasnodębski, Piotr

1127 Garden , woodbl., NMC

1129 Landscape at Dusk, col. lith., NMC

1130 Landscape at Dusk, col. lith., NMC

1136 Trees at Sunset, woodbl., NMC

1166 Garden in the Spring, 1902, NMC

1997 City Houses, woodbl., NMC

Krasnowolski, Józef

859 Forest, oil on cardb., priv. coll.

Krzyżanowski, Konrad

642 *Portrait of Janina Oltarzewska-Wilczyńska*, 1912, oil on canv., NMW

884 Clouds in Finland, 1908, oil on canv., NMC

887 A View from Istebna. Forest, 1906, oil on board, NMW

888 Grand Piano, 1905, oil on canv., USMB

Kuczyńska-Fessler, Ilka

1972 Lussin Island in the Adriatic Sea, 1928, woodbl. on Japanese pap., priv. coll.

Kugler, Włodzimierz

1135 Rain, 1913, dry point, NMW

Kulesza, Marian Stefan

1669 Still Life, oil on canv., SM

Kuninao, Utagawa

152 Masks for Female Roles in Nô Theatre and a Poem, 1 h. 19 c., col. woodbl. on pap., surimono, Wojciech Weiss's coll.

Kunishiro, Mitsutani

1369 Landscape, ink on pap., priv. coll.

1370 Windy Morning at Lake Nojiri, 1925, oil on canv., priv. coll.

1371 Mountain Lilies, oil on canv., priv. coll.

Kuniyoshi, Utagawa

252 In the Ruined Palace at Sôma, 1844, woodbl., NMC

253 Act 11 of The Storehouse of Loyal Retainers, 1827-30, woodbl., NMC

1106 The Three Kingdoms: Chohan Bridge, 1852, part of a triptych, woodbl., priv. coll.

1107 *Lovers' Suicide*, woodbl., priv. coll.

Kuroda, Seiki

43 study for Talk on Ancient Romance (Composition II), 1897, oil on canv., KMHT

Kustodiev, Boris

1385 Small Japanese Doll, oil on canv., priv. coll.

Larisch, Karol

1731 *A View of Kościuszko Mound from a Window*, oil on cardb., priv. coll.

Lasocki, Kazimierz

1723 Edge of the Forest, 1921, oil on canv., priv. coll.

Laszenko, Aleksander

1897 Parrots, 1936, woodbl., priv. coll.

1898 Courtship, 1936, , woodbl., priv. coll.

Lenart, Bonawentura

2200-2201 Japanese-inspired book-binding paper, 1909-1914, paint on pap., CAFAL

2202-2208 Japanese-inspired book-binding paper, 1909-1914, paint on pap., CAFAL

2219 *book-binding paper with the Ślepowron coat of arms*, 1925, CAFAL

Lentz, Stanisław

507 Portrait of a Man with a Vase, oil on canv., priv. coll.

Leski, Jerzy

1696 interwar period, oil on canv., priv. coll.

Lisowski, Ludwik

1672 Still Life, interwar period, oil on canv., priv. coll.

Łada-Maciągowa, Małgorzata

1626 *Portrait of Feliks Jasiński*, 1921, oil on canv., NMC

Łotocki, Kazimierz

905 Thistle in the Sun, oil on cardb., priv. coll.

906 Thistles, oil on cardb., priv. coll.

Majewski, Władysław

597 Chrysanthemums, 1911, oil on canv., priv. coll.

Makowski, Tadeusz

487 My Room, 1907, oil on canv., NMP

575 Still Life with Onions, ca. 1913-1914, oil on plywood, priv. coll., dep. RMSW

832 Winter, ca. 1900, oil on canv., NMW

895 Sunflowers, 1907, oil on canv., NMP

911 Flowers in Front of the House, 1900, oil on canv., NMC

1403 Girl with Chinese Figurines (Girl with Dolls from Java), ca. 1906, oil on canv., priv. coll.

1470 Flowers in a Vase, ca. 1909, oil on canv. on cardb., NMW

1471 Garden, 1915, oil on canv., priv. coll.

1532 Window with Flowers, 1926, oil on canv., NMW

1534 Girl in a Hat, ca. 1927, BochM

1535 Young Hunter, ca. 1920-1922, oil on board, priv. coll.

Malczewski, Jacek

125 Woman with a Guitar, 1902, oil on canv., priv. coll.

215 Go to the Streams, 1909-1910, left and right parts of the triptych, NMW

216 Landscape at the Vistula, 1904, oil on canv., NMC

218 Battle Scene, 1885, oil on cardb., priv. coll.

223 Portrait of a Child, 1900, oil on canv., priv. coll.

224 Bachanalia, 1899, oil cardb., priv. coll.

- 225 Souvenir from the Trip, oil on board, priv. coll.
- 226 Country Dances, oil on silk on board, priv. coll.
- 227 1880, fan, waterc. on silk, priv. coll.
- 506 *Portrait of Feliks Jasiński*, 1903, oil on board, NMC
- 502 *Portrait of Leon Wyczółkowski*, ca. 1895, oil on canv., NMC
- 806 The Vistula, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 850 Spring Landscape, ca. 1905, oil on canv., NMC
- 876 Landscape with the Vistula, 1904, oil on canv., NMC
- 1748 Landscape with Mountains, waterc. on pap., priv., coll.
- 1749 Landscape with Bulls, waterc. on pap., priv., coll.

Malczewski, Rafał

- 1750 Kasprowy Wierch, 1933-1935, waterc. on pap., dep. MTMZ
- 1751 Landscape in Huculszczyzna, 1933, waterc. on cardb., NMW
- 1752 Skiers in the Mountains, 1933, waterc. on cardb., NMW
- 1753 The Valley of Five Lakes, 1930, waterc. on pap., MTMZ
- 1754 *Gąsienicowa Valley*, 1933, waterc. on pap., MTMZ
- 1755 White Water Polana, 1933, waterc. on pap., dep. MTMZ
- 1756 *Pyszniański Pass in Zakopane*, 1933, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.
- 1757 Mountains in the Winter, interwar period, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.
- 1758 Winter Landscape in the Tatras, 1933, waterc. on pap., MTMZ
- 1759 Landscape with a Tree, interwar period, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.
- 1760 Mountain Landscape, waterc. on pap., MMPS
- 1761 A View from Gorce, 1936, waterc. on pap., MTMZ
- 1762 Pond in the Mountains, waterc. on pap., LM
- 1763 A View of the Tatras, 1st hf. 1930s, waterc., gouache on cardb., HH
- 1764 A Creek in the Snow, waterc. on pap, priv. coll.
- 1765 A Pond in the Tatras, 1928, waterc. on pap., NMC
- 1766 Mountain Landscape, 1920, waterc. on pap., PMB
- 1767 Train in a Mountain Landscape. A Motif from Canada, interwar period, waterc. on cardb., priv. coll.
- 1768 Autumn in the Mountains, 1936, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.
- 1769 Mountain Landscape, 1935-1936, waterc. on pap., ŁoM

- 1770 Avalanche, 1933, waterc. on pap., MUSB
- 1771 A View from Poronin, 1930s, waterc., gouache on cardb., HH
- 1772 A View of Giewont, 1936, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.
- 1773 *A View from Głodówka*, 1936, waterc. on pap., MTMZ
- 1774 Hala Kondratowa in the Autumn, 1936, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.
- 1775 View of the High Tatras, 1st half 1930s, waterc., gouache on pap. and cardb., HH
- 1776 A View of Hruby and Krywan, 1933, waterc. on pap. MTMZ

Manet, Édouard

- 494 Portrait of Emile Zola, 1867-1868, oil on canv., MO
- 659 Olympia, 1863, oil on canv., MO
- 668 The Balcony, 1868-1869, oil on canv., MO

Marevna, Maria

- 1546 Standing Nude, 1937, penc., waterc. on pap., priv. coll.
- 1547 Two Nudes, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1548 *The Artist's Daughter with a Lover*, mixed technique, priv. coll.
- 1550 Nude, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1551 Female Portrait, 1940s, crayons, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.

Markowicz, Artur

- 1712 Paris in the Rain, oil on canv., priv. coll.

Masanobu, Okumura

- 1066 Two Courtesans Drinking Sake, 18 c., woodbl., VAM
- 1079 Omi hakkei, 1725, woodbl., BM
- 1966 Play at the Ichimura Theatre, 18 c., woodbl., priv. coll.

Masayoshi, Kitao

- 2044 Flower and Bird, 18/19 c., woodbl., NMP

Masłowski, Stanisław

- 860 Pond in Radziejowice, 1907, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.
 908 Mallows, 1918, priv. coll.
 909 Mallows, priv. coll.
 914 Poppies, 1909, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.

Matisse, Henri

- 1393 Still Life: Bowl of Oranges, 1912, oil on canv., MMN

Mehoffer, Józef

- 182 Cracow Market Square, 1903, oil on board, NMC
 183 Gorge - La Gorge D'Areuse, 1897, oil on canv., NMP
 184 Strange Garden, 1903, oil on canv., NMW
 345 vignette, Chimera, ca. 1901-1907
 352 vignette, Chimera, ca. 1901-1907
 485 Europa jubilans, 1905, oil on canv., LGA
 488 *Wife's Portrait Against a Pegasus*, 1913, oil on canv., NMC
 489 *The Florentine Portrait of the Artist's Wife*, 1900, oil on canv., priv. coll.
 490 Portrait of Iza Gielgud-Axentowicz, 1907, oil on canv., NMW
 523 Red Parasol, 1917, oil on canv., NMC
 599 Bibelots on a Mantelpiece, 1895, oil on canv., NMP
 1402 Japanese Dolls, 1894, oil on canv., priv. coll.

Meizan, Yabu

- 1222 flacon, late 19 c., Satsuma faïence painted with overglaze colour enamels and gold, NMW
 1223 teapot, late 19 c., Satsuma faïence painted with overglaze colour enamels and gold, NMW
 1234 tray, late 19 c., Satsuma faïence painted with overglaze colour enamels and gold, NMW
 1227 vase, late 19 c., Satsuma faïence painted with overglaze colour enamels and gold, NMW

Menkes, Zygmunt

- 1462 Still Life with Flowers and Fruit, oil on canv., priv. coll.

Merkel, Jerzy

- 1372 Summer, 1911, lost, ph. after Sztuka 1912, p. 67
1373 Mother with Children, 1912, lost
1374 The End of the Day, oil on canv., 1912, priv. coll.
1375 Family Life in a Mythological Landscape, oil on canv., priv. coll.
1533 Mother and Child, oil on canv., priv. coll.

Mierzejewski, Jacek

- 1836 Turkeys, 1922, woodbl., NMWr

Mikolasch, Henryk

- 559 Asia Jubilans, 1907, waterc., penc., temp. on cardb., NMWr
856 Tree, oil on cardb., priv. coll.

Milich, Adolf

- 1460 Woman in a Kimono, oil on canv. on board, priv. coll.
1464 A Woman Sunbathing under a Parasol, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.
1485 Landscape in the South of France, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.
1493 Carmel Houses, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.

Mińska-Golińska, Irena

- 1851 Play, 1935, woodbl., priv. coll.

Misky, Ludwik

- 784 Winter Landscape, 1905, oil on canv., NMC

Młodzianowski, Kazimierz

- 2210 Cracow Workshops logo on a kilim, ca. 1915, NMC

Mniszech, Andrzej Jerzy

- 27 Portrait of the Manzai Actor in the Role of a Geisha, 2 h. 19 c., oil on canv., priv. coll.

- 28 Portrait of the Manzai Actor in the Role of a Samurai, 2 h. 19 c., oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 29 Young Woman in Japanese Attire, 2 h. 19 c., oil on canv., priv. coll.

Mondral, Karol Franciszek

- 1123 At the Seine, 1910, etching, OLW

Munch, Edvard

- 655 Melancholy, 1896, woodbl., MMO
- 656 Madonna, 1895, colour lith., UWL

Muter, Mela

- 1549 Portrait of a Woman, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1554 A Woman in the Window, oil on canv., priv. coll.

Nacht-Samborski, Artur

- 1658 interwar period, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1680 Still Life with Flowers in a Vase, oil on canv., priv. coll.

Nakamasa, Unjodo

- 1253 Nadegaku tsuba, 19 c., shibuichi and shakudô alloys, gold, copper, inlaid with engraved ornaments, NMW

Nehring, Maciej

- 1716 Kurtynia in the Winter, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.
- 1718 Landscape in the Tatras, 1943, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.

Neumann, Abraham

- 797 Twilight. A Winter Landscape from Podhale, 1903, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 798 Thaw, 1908, oil on cardb., Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw

Niedzielska, Maria

- 844 Autumn, 1904, oil on canv. on cardb., NMWr

853 Spring, 1904, oil on cardb., NMWr

Nowakowski, Aleksy

901 Sunflowers, 1910, oil on cardb., priv. coll.

Okolowicz, Norbert

2209 monogram in the form of simplified Cracow's coat of arms on a batik scarf, ca. 1913, NMC

Okuń, Edward

84 *Wife's Portrait with a Parasol*, 1897, oil on canv, priv. coll.

220 Landscape with Cypressess, 1898-1899, past. on cardb., priv. coll.

221 Italian Landscape, oil on canv. on cardb., 1898, MMP

343 vignette, Chimera, ca. 1901-1907

347 vignette, Chimera, ca. 1901-1907

348 vignette Chimera, ca. 1901-1907

349 vignette, Chimera, ca. 1901-1907

350 vignette, Chimera, ca. 1901-1907

354 vignette, Chimera, ca. 1901-1907

643 Night, 1903, colour lith., cover of Chimera, vol. 7, 1904, NMC

64 Upojenie, ca. 1906, oil on canv., lost

841 Autumnal Foliage, 1912, oil on canv., NMW

931. Garden, oil on canv., priv. coll.

1698 The War and Us, 1923, oil on canv., NMW

1705. In a Lemon Orchard, 1923, oil on canv., priv. coll.

1817 Peppers, 1921, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.

Ôkyo, Maruyama

767 Pines in Snow, 1780s, ink and gold on pap., Mitsui Bunkô, Tokyo

Olszewski, Marian

1065 Oktawia Popowicz née Olszewska, 1911, linocut on cardb., NLW

Osostowicz, Stanisław

1726 Landscape with Trees, 1930, oil on plywood, priv. coll.

Pankiewicz, Józef

- 492 *Jasieński at the Piano*, 1908, oil on canv., NMC
496 Portrait of Wojciech Biesiadecki, 1909, oil on canv., NMC
529 Japanese Woman, 1908, oil on canv., NMC
532 In the Mirror (Japanese II), 1908, oil on canv., lost
533 Japanese with a Mirror, 1908, oil on canv., priv. coll.
541 Still Life with a Blue Vase, 1907, oil on canv., NMW
542 Buddha and Boule de Nieve, 1906, oil on canv., NMC
544 Still Life with Buddha and a Branch of Mimosa, 1906, oil on canv., priv., coll.
546 Still Life with a Lacquered Case, ca. 1908, oil on canv., priv. coll.
547 Persian Vase, 1908, oil on canv., NMC
548 Still Life with Fruit and an Oriental Plate, 1908, oil on canv., priv. coll.
609 A Woman Combing in Front of the Mirror, 1911, oil on canv., NMC
610 A Cup of Tea - a Visit, 1922, oil on canv., NMW
1080 *Pińsk Canal in Polesie II*, 1899, dry point on pap., NMC
1081 Pont Neuf in Paris/Quatorze eaux-fortes, 1899, etching, NMW
1082 The Apse of Notre Dame in Paris, ca. 1902, etching on pap., NMC
1083 Port in Fécamp, 1907, etching on Japanese pap., NMW
1084 Fishing Boat in Concareau, 1908, etching on pap., NMW
1085 Black Swans, ca. 1892, ink on cardb., NMW
1086 A Study of a Fir Branch in Duboj, 1896, ink on pap., NMC
1087 A Study of Larch Trees, ca. 1893, ink, penc. on pap., NMC

Pautsch, Fryderyk

1037 *Leon Wyczółkowski*, 1903, priv. coll.

Peel, Paul

1390 Japanese Dolls and a Fan, ca. 1889, oil on canv., priv. coll.

Peploe, Samuel John

556 Flowers and Fruit (Japanese Background), ca. 1916, oil on canv., KDMAG

Piekelny, Robert

1474 Masks, 1932, oil on canv., priv. coll.

Pieniążek, Józef

2047 *Leon Wyczółkowski at Lithographic Press*, 1925, etching, LWMB

Pieńkowski, Ignacy

1631 Fatyma, 1919, oil on canv., NMC

1664 Still Life, oil on canv., priv. coll.

1665 Flowers in a Vase, oil on canv., priv. coll.

Podkowiński, Władysław

660 Ecstasy, 1894, oil on canv., NMC

Potworowski, Piotr Tadeusz

1700 Portrait of a Young Woman, gouache, waterc., penc. on pap., priv. coll.

Procajłowicz, Antoni

1064 Head of a Woman, 1903, woodbl., NMC

1174 *The Cover for K. Laskowski's Book 'Pozwól mi mówić'*, 1905, CAFAL

Pronaszko, Zbigniew

1833 Cock and Hen, 1939, oil on canv., NMC

Puacz, Józef

526 *Wife's Portrait in a Kimono*, 1913, oil on canv., priv. coll.

Rakowski, Mieczysław

1732 The Vistula at Wawel, 1931, oil on canv., priv. coll.

Redon, Odilon

- 452 The Marsh Flower, a Sad and Human Face/Homage to Goya, 1885, lith. on chine appliqué, MoMA

Renoir, Pierre-Auguste

- 550 Still Life with a Bouquet, 1871, oil on canv., priv., coll.

Rosen, Jan

- 1172 *Chantecler Cigarette Pipes from M. Paschalski's Factory in Cracow*, ca. 1906, lith., NMC

Rubczak, Jan

- 1122 St Séverin Church in Paris, 1911, NMW
1138 The Wave, 1911, etching, NMW
1379 Fishing Port in Audierne, 1912, oil on cardb., priv. coll.
1380 Fishing Port in Audierne, 1912, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.
1381 The Bay in Cassis, 1913-1914, oil on canv., MMG
1382 A View of St Tropez, oil on canv., priv. coll.
1384 Landscape from St Tropez, ca. 1920, oil on canv., priv. coll.

Ruszczyc, Ferdynand

- 198 Rock in the Sea, 1894, oil on canv., priv. coll.
199 Rocky Shore with a Wave, 1895, oil on canv., priv. coll.
200 Stream in the Woods, 1900, oil on canv., NMC
202 From the Banks of the Wilejka, 1900, oil on canv., TM
204 Old Apple Trees, 1900, oil on canv., NMW
206 Spring, 1897, oil on canv., priv. coll.
208 Mill in Winter, 1897, oil on canv., priv. coll.
210 Mill in Winter at Dusk, 1897, oil on canv., priv. coll.
212 Cranes, 1910, ill. in *Żórawce*, 1910, priv. coll.
214 Departing Cranes, 1909, theatre programme for play by J. Słowacki Lilla Weneda, ink on pap., priv. coll.
672 Nec Mergitur, 1904-1905, oil on canv., LMAV

- 814 Cross in the Snow, 1902, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 815 Winter Fairy Tale, 1904, oil on canv., NMC
- 825 Snow in Front of the Manor House in Bohdanów, 1901, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 883 Void. Old Nest, 1901, oil on canv., LMAV
- 885 Cloud, 1902, oil on canv., NMP
- 903 Indian Summer, oil on canv., priv. coll.

Rychter, Tadeusz

- 953 Crows, 1906, oil on canv., NMP
- 2195 vase with a frieze of flying cranes, before 1910, faience painted under glaze, NMC

Rychter-Janowska, Bronisława

- 1717 A Creek in Winter, 1943, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.
- 2172 Polish Applied Arts Society exhibition in Warsaw, 1905, kilims, ph. After Irena Huml Polska sztuka stosowana XX wieku, p. 28

Rzecki-Szreniawa, Stanisław

- 1053 *Helena Sulima in the Role of Jessyka from 'The Merchant of Venice' by William Shakespeare/Teka Melpomeny*, 1904, col. lith. on pap., NMC

Samlicki, Marcin

- 828 Winter Landscape, oil on plywood, priv. coll.

Schnell, Martin

- 8 cabinet, 1730-1776, lacq., Wilanów Palace, Warsaw

Schulz, Bruno

- 1641 A Japanese Woman with a Parasol and Three Old Men, penc. on pap., priv. coll.

Sei, Koyanagui

- 1451 A Cat Sleeping in an Armchair, 1920, oil on canv., priv. coll.

1452 A Man with a Dog, oil on canv., priv. coll.

Seidenbeutl, Efraim & Menasze

1632 Woman with Fruit, oil on canv., priv. coll.

1644 A View from the Window, ca. 1930, oil on canv., MAŁ

Seidenbeutl, Menasze

1643 Still Life with Japanese Prints, 1932, oil on canv., MAŁ

Sharaku, Tōshūsai

256 Portrait of the Actor Kōraiya Kinshō, 1794, woodbl., NMC

1109 Arashi Ryūzo as the Money Lender Ishibe Kinkichi, ca. 1795, woodbl., NMC

Shigemasa, Kitao

241 *The Ninth Chrysanthemum Viewing, Deer's Flute/Day and Night Scenes of the Twelve Months*, 1772-1781, woodbl., NMC

Shi K'ō

437 Zen Master and a Tiger, ink, priv. coll.

Shūbun, Tenshō

2026-2027 Getting Hold of the Ox, Taming the Ox/Ten Oxherding Pictures, Muromachi period, handscroll, ink and paint on pap., Shōkokuji T. in Kyoto

Shunchō, Katsukawa

238 Representation of the Seven Philosophers in a Bamboo Forest, 1786-1789, woodbl., NMC

Shunkō, Katsukawa

250 Ichikawa Danjurō V as Kajiwaru Genta Kagesue, 1787, woodbl., NMC

Shunman, Kubo

2030 Three Courtesans, ca. 1790, woodbl., NMP

Shunshô, Katsukawa

- 104 Ise monogatari, 1773, Wojciech Weiss's family coll.
709 Courtier on the Veranda, 18 c., woodbl., Wojciech Weiss's coll.

Sichulski, Kazimierz

- 26 *Stanisław Witkiewicz's Caricature*, 1914, waterc., past., col. pencil on pap., MTMZ
305 *Manggha and Wyczół(kowski) Fly to Japan*, 1906, past. on pap., Jama Michalika Café in Cracow
481 The Restoration of Wawel. A Happy Ending to a Sad Story, col. lith., publ. in *Liberum Veto*, priv. coll.
512 *Feliks Jasiński's Treasury (Caricature of Feliks Jasiński and Leon Wyczółkowski)*, past., pap., NMC
843 Thistles, 1904, oil on board, NMC
917 Flowers, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.
918 Flowers, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.
947 Fish, 1908, past. on cardb., NMP
1028 *The Difficulty of Competition. Prof. Stanisławski*, 1903, *Liberum Veto*
1029 Damazy Kotowski, 1903, Lib. V.
1030 Rector and Vicar, 1903, vignette for *Liberum Veto*
1031 Ludwik Solski as a Primate, 1910, priv. coll.
1032 Devotion, 1904, vignette for *Liberum Veto*
1033 Teodor Axentowicz, 1915, waterc., past. on pap., MTMZ
1034 *Kazimierz Dłuski*, 1914, water., past., crayon on pap., MTMZ
1035 *Stefan Żeromski*, 1914, water., past., crayon on pap., MTMZ
1036 *Tymon Niesiołowski*, 1915, waterc., past. on pap., MTMZ
1038 *Jan Stanisławski with His Students* (Stefan Filipkiewicz, Stanisław Czajkowski, Henryk Szczygliński, Stanisław Kamocki), 1905, past. on pap., Michalik's Den café in Cracow
1039 *Kornel Makuszyński*, 1908, priv. coll.
1043 Zuzanna at Bath (caricature of Jerzy Leszczyński), ca. 1907, past. on pap., MTMZ
1117 Sunflowers, 1912, lith., NMC

- 1742-1747 Centaur, Venus and Satyr, Playing Faun, Lovers, Venus and Amor, Landscape with a Nymph, 1928, six-panel oil painting on canv., Hotel Lwigród in Krynica
- 1803 Cherry Blossom, 1921, past. on pap., priv. coll.
- 1804 Irises, past. on pap., priv. coll.
- 1805 Apple Blossom, 1921, past. on pap., priv. coll.
- 1806 White Poppies, 1920s, temp., crayon, on cardb., priv. coll.
- 1808 Flowers, past., waterc., gouache on pap., priv. coll.

Siedlecki, Franciszek

- 344 vignette, Chimera, ca. 1901-1907
- 346 vignette, Chimera, ca. 1901-1907

Skoczylas, Władysław

- 868 Mountains, 1905, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1112 Dworzyszcze, 1916, etching, UWL
- 1115 A Cross by the Road, etching, priv. coll.
- 1160 Expanding Roots, 1911, etching, NMW
- 1177 *The 4th Artists' Ball*, 1904, col. lith., NMC

Skotnicki, Jan

- 950 Turkeys in Rain, 1906, oil on cardb., priv. coll.
- 1134 Storm, ca. 1911, etching, UWL
- 1142 The Vistula in Kazimierz, ca. 1909, etching, UWL

Stabrowski, Kazimierz

- 648 Against a Stained-glass Window—the Peacock, 1908, NMW
- 809 Landscape with a River, past. on pap., priv. coll.
- 845 Autumnal Wind, bef. 1910, oil on canv., NMW
- 944 Langoustines, 1913, past. on pap., priv. coll.
- 945 Octopus, 1913, past. on pap., priv. coll.
- 946 Corals and Fish, 1913, past. on pap., priv. coll.
- 948 Golden Autumnal Fairy Tale, 1910, past., temp. on pap., LMAV

- 1699 The Figure of a Woman Against Peacock Feathers, past. on pap., priv. coll.
 1834 Cranes, 1923, past. on pap., priv. coll.

Stanislawski, Jan

- 186 An Old Wall, 1884, oil on board, NMC
 187 Thistles, 1885, oil on cardb., NMC
 188 Blossoming Poppies, ca. 1887, oil on board, NMC
 189 Mullein, 1887, oil on board, NMC
 190 Thistles, 1895, oil on plywood., SMO
 191 Poplars by the Water, 1900, oil on canv., NMC
 192 Poplars by the Water, 1901, col. lith., NMC
 193 Early Spring, 1898, oil on canv., priv. coll.
 195 Tree-Trunk Beehives, 1884, oil on cardb., NMC
 353 vignette, Chimera, ca. 1901-1907
 800 Park in Zakopane, aft. 1900, oil on cardb., NMWr
 802 The Sapphire Dnieper, 1904, oil on cardb., NMC
 803 The Dnieper, 1903, oil on cardb., NMC
 804 The Dnieper, oil on cardb., LGA
 805 From the Banks of the Dnieper, oil on cardb., NMC
 810 View of Mt Osobita, 1906, oil on board, NMC
 812 *View of Kościuszko Mound*, oil on board, priv. coll.
 816 *Cupola of the Tower of Virgin Mary's Church in Cracow*, ca. 1904, oil on cardb., NMC
 817 The Barbican, 1903, oil on cardb., NMW
 840 Landscape from Zakopane, 1901, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.
 848 Peczerska Lavra, ca. 1901, oil on cardb., priv. coll.
 857 The Birch Grove, 1904, oil on cardb., NMC
 870 Moon Night, ca. 1903, oil on cardb., NMW
 889 Spring Landscape, 1904, oil on cardb., NMC
 896 Sunflowers, ca. 1905, oil on cardb., NMC
 897 Yellow Irises (Landscape with a Cross), ca. 1902, a sheet from sketchbook, crayon, waterc. on pap., NMC
 898 Sunflowers, ca. 1910, oil on plywood, SMK

- 899 Sunflowers, 1903, oil on cardb., NMC
- 904 Meadow (Dandelion), gouache on cardb., NMW
- 907 Mallows, 1905, past. on cardb., NMC
- 913 Rhododendrons, 1905, oil on cardb., NMC
- 1088 Poplars *at Water's Edge*, ca. 1900, woodbl., NMC
- 1090 *Villa d'Este*, 1900-1901, col. lith., priv. coll.
- 1091 Poplars, ca. 1901, col. lith., NMW
- 1092 Landscape with a Birch Grove, 1904, col. lith., NMC
- 1093 The Vistula at Tyniec, ca. 1903, col. lith., NMW

Stankiewicz, Zofia

- 1146 Manor House in Snow, etching, mezzotint, NMC
- 1728 Rushes, 1926, waterc., gouache on pap., priv. coll.
- 1837 Sparrows, interwar period, aquatint, etching, priv. coll.
- 1989 Lonely Boat, bef. 1928, aquatint, NMC
- 1990 *Pine Tree in Jastrzębia Góra*, bef. 1928, aquatint, etching, NMC
- 1991 Ducks in Flight, bef. 1928, aquatint, etching, NMC
- 1993 Fight, 1930s, etching, priv. coll.
- 1994 Fishing Nets, bef. 1928, aquatint, etching, NMC
- 1995 King Sigismund III Column in Warsaw, bef. 1928, etching, NMC
- 2000 Moonlit Night, bef. 1928, aquatint, NMC

Steiner, Ignacy

- 9 mural, ca. 1730, Jesuit ch., Grudziądz

Steller, Paweł

- 1713 *Winter in Żabnica*, 1938, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.
- 1714 Winter Landscape by the Vistula, 1942, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.
- 1715 Winter in Istebna, 1939, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.
- 1895 Cat, 1936, woodbl., priv. coll.
- 2001 *At the Vistula's Spring*, 1939, linocut, priv. coll.

Stevens, Alfred

- 531 Parisian Lady in Japanese Style, 1872, oil on canv., MFAL
1388 A Lady with a Japanese Doll, ca. 1889, oil on canv., priv. coll.
1391 The Exotic Curio, oil on canv., priv. coll.

Stryjeńska, Zofia

- 1637 Self-portrait in a Japanese Kimono, oil on canv., priv. coll.

Stryjeński, Karol

- 2238 café with a stage built in Esplanade des Invalides at the 1925 Exposition
Internationale des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels Modernes in Paris, WAFAA

The Sumiyoshi studio

- 426-429 Pictorial Biography of the Zen Priest Dôgen Kigen, ca. 1850, paint and gold
leaf of silk, NMC

Szczygliński, Henryk

- 595 Still Life (Reflection in the Window), oil on cardb., ŁMA
831 Knight with a Bill, aft. 1900, oil on canv., NMW
1131 Winter Landscape with Wawel, 1903, col. lith., NMW
1725 *Łazienki* at Night, 1918, oil on canv., NMK

Szymanowski, Wacław

- 915 Apple Blossom, oil on canv., priv. coll.

Ślewiński, Władysław

- 59 Woman Combing Hair, 1897, oil on canv., NMC
60 Mask and Books, ca. 1897, oil on canv., NMW
61 Two Breton Women with a Basket of Apples, ca. 1897, oil on canv., NMW
62 Sleeping Woman with a Cat, 1896, oil on canv., priv. coll.
65 The Sea in le Pouldu, ca. 1896, oil on canv., priv. coll.
66 Solitary Rock in the Sea, 1907, oil on canv., NMW
67 The Sea, 1904, oil on canv., NMC

- 68 The Sea with Lilac Rocks, ca. 1916, oil on canv., LGA
- 69 The Sea in Brittany, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 70 Rocks in Belle-Isle, ca. 1914, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 578 Flowers against a Japanese Background, ca. 1912, oil on canv., priv. coll.,
dep. RMSW

Talaga, Jan

- 799 A Creek in Winter, 1911, oil on canv., SMK

Terlikowski, Włodzimierz

- 1453 Parasol and Flowers, 1918, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1454 A Bouquet of Flowers with a Japanese Doll, 1935, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1455 Flowers with a Figurine of Buddha, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1456 Still Life with a Fan, 1925, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1456a Anemones and a Japanese Doll, 1931, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1459 Girl in a Pink Dress, 1950, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1468 Anemones, 1934, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1469 A Bouquet of Roses, 1924, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1472 A Bouquet of Flowers with a Figurine, 1925, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1473 Flowers in a Vase, 1919, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1475 A View of Philippe the Beautiful in Avignon, 1921, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1476 Notre Dame in Paris, 1923, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1477 Open Window, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1478 A View of Sacré Coeur, 1947, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1479 A Bridge on the Seine, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1482 Landscape, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1484 Castle on the Hill, 1921, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1488 The Luxembourg Palace in Paris, 1920, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1489 From the Journey to Morocco, 1930, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1491 *St Mark's Cathedral in Venice*, 1925, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1494 Small Market Square in St Tropez, 1924, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1555 Portrait of a Man, 1940, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1556 Portrait of a Woman, 1934, oil on canv., priv. coll.

1557 Woman, 1919, oil on canv., priv. coll.

Tichy, Karol

2167 kilim, Antonina Sikorska's Workshop in Czernichów, ca. 1901, NMC

2168 kilim, Antonina Sikorska's Workshop in Czernichów, ca. 1901, NMC

2170 bedroom furniture, 1909, Andrzej Sydor's workshop, NMW

2171 bedroom furniture, 1909, Andrzej Sydor's workshop, NMW

Tôhaku, Hasegawa

715 Shôrin-zu byôbu (Pine Trees), 16 c. , ink on pap., TNM

Tokei, Niwa

676 1800-1820, woodbl., priv. coll.

Tosa, Mitsuoki

1364 17 c., ink and colour, BMFA

Tosa, Mitsusuke

1186 Crane, early 18 c., kakemono, ink, waterc. on silk, NMC

Toyokuni, Utagawa

245 Actor, 1795, woodbl., NMC

258 *Actor Segawa Rokô IV in the Play 'Onna Shibaraku'*, 1807, woodbl., NMC

265 Company on the Verandah, 1789-1801, kakemono, waterc. and ink on silk, NMC

456 Takinoya (Actor Ichikawa Monnosuke II as Soga no Jûrô/Portraits of Actors on Stage, 1794, woodbl., MFAB

Trojanowski, Edward

858 Landscape, 1900, oil on board, NMC

Trusz, Iwan

808 Meandering Dnieper, oil on cardb., priv. coll.

- 862 Pine Tree, 1917, oil on canv., priv. coll.
 863 Landscape with a View of a Lake, oil on canv., priv. coll.
 866 Evening Sun, oil on canv., priv. coll.
 900 White Lilac, oil on cardb. on board, priv. coll.

Unknown Artist

- 106 Japan, WWFM
 261 Amida Descending to Receive the Soul of a Dying Man into His Paradise, 14-16c., kakemono, ink, waterc. and gold on silk, NMC
 262 Mandala of the Pure Land, 2 quart. 19 c., kakemono, water., ink and gold on silk, NMC
 268 Screen, 2 h. 19 c., satin, silk, waterc., wood, NMC
 306 Goddess on a Crane, Bunsei era (1818-1830), nishiki-e, surimono, gold and silver embossing, NMC
 431 *Exhibition of Japanese Art from Feliks Jasieński's Collection*, 1906, print on pap., NMC
 705 Wojciech Weiss's coll.
 1179 *Juliusz Meinel's Direct Import of Tea*, ca. 1910, lith. on pap., NMC
 1184 *A. Pruszyński's Lithographic Workshop Has Moved*, 1898, col. lith., NMC
 1189 Snake and Crane
 1190 Snake and Crane
 1191 Snake and Crane
 1192 Snake and Crane

Utamaro, Kitagawa

- 231 Reading a Book/Elegant Comparison of Little Treasures, ca. 1802, woodbl., NMC
 232 Hitomoto of Daimonjiya, Kamuro Senkaku and Banki/ Courtesans as the Seven Komachi, 1805, NMC
 233 *The Merchant's Wife*/Variegations of Blooms According to their Speech, 1802, woodbl., NMC
 234 Minamoto no Yoritomo Hunting at the Foot of Mt Fuji, 1786-1789, woodbl., NMC
 235 Seeking Yang Guifei in the Moon Palace, 1780s, woodbl., ink and col., NMC

- 236 Lady Descending from a Court Carriage, ca. 1801-4, woodbl., ink and col., NMC
- 237 Act 1 from the Chûshingura/Chûshingura of the Lower Classes, ca. 1801-4, woodbl., ink and col., NMC
- 358-365 woodbl. prints from Wojciech Weiss's coll.
- 611 Utamakura (Poem of the Pillow)/ Widow and her Lover Beside Open Veranda, 1788, ill. 7 of 12, woodbl. printed folding album, BM
- 612 Utamakura (Poem of the Pillow)/Lovers Beside a Standing Lantern, 1788, ill. 3 of 12, woodbl. printed folding album, BM
- 999 Ehon mushi erabi (Picture Book of Selected Insects), 1788, woodbl., NMC
- 1044 Seven Women Applying Make-up Using a Mirror, late 18 c., woodbl., ink, col., BMFA
- 1045 A Beauty in Front of a Mirror, woodbl., NMC
- 1046 Mother and Child Playing with a Mirror, late 18th c., woodbl., BMFA
- 2034 Diptych from takeshiba, ca. 1790-1799, woodbl., NMP
- 2036 Manzai, 1790-1799, woodbl., NMP

Uziembło, Henryk

- 796 Winter Day, 1908, oil on plywood, priv. coll.
- 834 Spruces in Winter, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 847 Autumn Tilia Tree, 1910, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1738 Sea Waves, oil on plywood, priv. coll.
- 2185 3rd Exhibition of The Association of Polish Artists, 1906, lith., NMC

Vallotton, Feliks

- 1062 To Paul Verlaine, 1891, woodbl., MoMA

Waliszewski, Zygmunt

- 1730 *Kościuszko Mound*, 1936, oil on cardb., BITC

Wańkowski, Tadeusz

- 510 *Ludwik Solski as a Samurai in 'Terakoya'*, waterc., ink, pap., priv. coll.

Watanabe, Seitei (Shotei)

260 Birds and Flowers of the Four Seasons, 1891, waterc. on silk, NMC

Watanabe, Shikô

1366 Flowering Cherries at Yoshinoyama, 1st hf. 18 c., ink, col., gold leaf on pap., priv. coll.

Wawrzeniecki, Marian

351 vignette, Chimera, ca. 1901-1907

663 Allegoric Scene, 1918, oil on canv., priv. coll.

664 Her Fate, 1937, waterc., penc. on pap., priv. coll.

Weber, Max

596 Chinese Bowls, 1911, oil on cardb., priv. coll.

Weiss, Irena

1628 Japanese Woman, oil on cardb., priv. coll.

1675 Peonies and Irises Against a Japanese Folding Screen, 1960, oil on cardb., priv. coll.

Weiss, Wojciech

83 Portrait of *Róża Schleichkorn*, 1897, cardb., priv. coll. oil on canv., priv. coll.

103 Heat, 1898, oil on canv., priv. coll., NMC

105 Carriages, 1897, waterc. on pap., priv. coll., WWFM

107 Dog on the Tracks, 1899, waterc. on pap., WWFM

108 Tracks in Sunshine, 1898, oil on pap., WWFM

109 Schoolgirls in the Podzamcze, 1897, oil on canv., WWFM

110 Schoolgirls at Planty, 1897, oil on canv., priv. coll.

111 A spring Landscape with Birch Trees, 1897, oil on canv., WWFM

112 *A Tree in Płaszów*, 1897, oil on canv., WWFM

113 Shoal, 1902, oil on canv., priv. coll.

115 *St. Anne's Church*, 1900, carb. on pap., WWFM

116 Pond, study for the painting Deep Water, 1899, oil on pap., WWFM

117 Self-portrait, 1897, oil on canv., priv. coll.

118	Evening, 1900, oil on canv., NMW
119	Nude, 1897, past. on pap., WWFM
120	Saddened, 1898, oil on canv., NMP
121	Cancan at the Moulin Rouge, 1900, oil on canv., priv. coll.
127	Herbarium. Thistles, 1897, waterc. on pap., WWFM
128	Water Lilies, 1898, waterc. on pap., WWFM
129	Lily, 1897, waterc. on pap., WWFM
130	A Branch of Acacia, 1898, WWFM
131	Studies of Roosters, 1898, ink and watercolour on pap., WWFM
132	Cat, 1900, ink on pap., WWFM
133	Blossoming Plum Tree <i>near the Wisłok</i> , 1899, past. on pap., WWFM
134	Irises by the Path, 1900, past. on pap., WWFM
135	Irises, 1899, ink on pap., WWFM
136	Spider Woman, 1898, ink on pap., WWFM
137	Cock and Hen, 1912, waterc. on pap., NMP
138	A Plant, a Snail, and the Moon, 1897, ink on pap., WWFM
139	Fantastical Flower, 1897, ink on pap., WWFM
140	Lily of the Valley, 1897, ink on paper, WWFM
141	Iris, 1899, ink on pap., WWFM
142	Blizzard, 1910, oil on canv., WWFM
143	Cloister in the Mist, 1913, ink on pap., WWFM
144	Woman on the Riverbank, 1898, waterc. on pap., WWFM
145	Kalwaria, ink on pap., WWFM
146	An Apple Tree in Winter, 1910, waterc. on pap., WWFM
147	<i>Kościelec Little Ridge from the Black Pond</i> , 1898, oil on pap., priv. coll.
148	A Mountain Peak in the Sunset, 1899, oil on pap., WWFM
149	<i>Black Gąsienicowy Pond from Sucha Woda Stream</i> , oil on pap., priv. coll.
150	Demon, 1900, oil on pap., MLW
151	Self-portrait with Masks, 1900, oil on canv., NMC
520	Rózia in a Kimono, oil on canv., priv. coll.
594	Autumnal Flowers with a Fan, 1909, oil on canv., priv. coll.
613-614	copies of illustrations from Utamaro's <i>Utamakura</i> , waterc. on pap., priv. coll.

- 615 Irena Reading, 1910, waterc. on pap., WWMF
- 616 Repose: Reclining, oil on canv., WWMF
- 617 Sleeping Renia, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.
- 618 Renia Asleep, ca. 1908, past. on pap., WWMF
- 619 Nude in a Red Shawl, 1910, oil on canv., NMC
- 620 Renia in the Doorway, 1908-1909, oil on canv., priv. coll. dep. JMMR
- 621 Renia in Sunflowers, 1907, past. on pap., priv. coll.
- 622 Renia in White, 1909, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 623 Model (Italian Woman), 1901, oil on canv., NMC
- 624 Self-portrait with Wife in the Mirror, 1908, oil on canv., NMC
- 625 Reclining with Plaits II, 1897, oil on pap., dep. WWMF
- 627 Reading Renia I, 1908, oil on canv., priv. coll., dep. JMMR
- 628 Renia with a Mirror, 1908, past. on pap., WWMF
- 629 Renia Asleep, 1908, past. on pap., priv. coll.
- 630 Renia Embroidering, 1907, past. on pap., WWMF
- 631 Renia Asleep II, 1908, past. on pap., priv. coll.
- 632 *A Study of Embroidering Renia's Head*, 1907, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 633 Renia in the Lamplight, 1907, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.
- 634 Renia in a Grey Dress, 1911, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 635 Coltsfoots. Renia Behind the Easel, 1908, oil on canv., priv. coll., dep. JMMR
- 637 Irena in White, 1907, oil on canv., priv. coll., dep. WWMF
- 649 A Fallen Woman, 1899, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 650 design for a vignette for the journal *Życie*, 1900, chalk, charcoal on pap., priv. coll.
- 651 Red Ribbon, 1896, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 652 Kiss in the Forest, 1900, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.
- 653 The Kiss, 1900, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 654 A Kiss on the Grass, 1899, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 657 Japanese, 1900, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 658 Demon (in a Café), 1904, oil on canv., NMC
- 670 Zuzanna and Old Men, 1912, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 697 Spiderwebs, 1908, oil on canv., priv. coll., dep. NMW

- 698 House Corner, 1909, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 699 Hemorocallis in Bloom, 1905, oil on cardb., priv. coll.
- 701 Kalwaria, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 703 A Gate by the House, 1908, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 704 Rain, 1908, past. on pap., priv. coll.
- 706 Dovecote, 1906, past. on pap., priv. coll.
- 707 The Yard in Spring Rain, 1908, oil on canv., JMMR
- 708 The Porch in Kalwaria, 1905, past. on pap., dep. WWMF
- 710 Musicians on the Bridge, 1904, oil on canv., NMC
- 711 Musicians on the Bridge, 1903, waterc. on pap., dep. WWMF
- 861 Grasses, past. on pap., priv. coll.
- 957 Flowerbed. Nasturtiums, 1897, oil on pap., WWMF
- 958 Tomatoes on the Vine, past. on pap., priv. coll.
- 959 Study of a Nasturtium, 1905, oil on pap., WWMF
- 960 Autumn, 1905, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.
- 961 Grapes, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.
- 962 Sunflowers, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.
- 963 An Apple Tree Twig in Bloom, ca. 1905, oil on cardb., priv. coll.
- 964 Sprouting Plants, ca. 1906, oil on cardb., priv. coll.
- 965 Sunflowers and Tomatoes, 1908, past. on pap., priv. coll.
- 966 Sunflowers, 1908, past. on pap., priv. coll.
- 967 Sunflowers, 1899, past. on pap., priv. coll.
- 968 Dandelion, 1900, past. on pap., WWMF
- 969 Withering Sunflower, 1910, waterc. on pap., WWMF
- 970 Blooming Apple-Tree Branch, ca. 1909, past. on pap., priv. coll.
- 971 Grapevine Shoots, ca. 1906, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.
- 972 Mallows, 1906, past. on pap., WWMF
- 973 A Twig of Acacia, 1898, waterc. on pap., WWMF
- 974 Roses, past. on pap., priv. coll.
- 975 Sunflower, past. on pap., priv. coll.
- 976 Sunflower, 1905, carbon, penc. on pap., WWMF
- 977 Vine, past. on pap., priv. coll.

- 978 Flowers, past. on pap., priv. coll.
- 979 Tomato Stems, 1898, waterc. on pap., WWMF
- 980 Budding Grapevine, 1905, past. on pap., WWMF
- 981 Dandelion, past. on pap., priv. coll.
- 982 Branch, past. on pap., priv. coll.
- 983 Study of a Meadow Plant, 1905, waterc. on pap., WWMF
- 984 Sunflower, past. on pap., priv. coll.
- 985 Coltsfoot Flowers, 1902, waterc. on pap., WWMF
- 986 Study of a Meadow Plant, 1905, waterc. on pap., WWMF
- 987 Hollyhocks and Coneflowers, ca. 1910, past. on pap., priv. coll.
- 988 Apple Tree, past. on pap., priv. coll.
- 989 An Apple Tree Twig, 1908, past. on pap., priv. coll.
- 990 Peonies, past. on pap., priv. coll.
- 991 Blooming Rose Twig, ca. 1907, past. on pap., priv. coll.
- 992 waterc. on pap., WWMF
- 993 Poppy Heads, 1906, waterc. on pap., WWMF
- 994 Frog in the Greenery, 1905, crayon on pap., WWMF
- 995 Narcissus, ink on pap., priv. coll.
- 996 Studies of Leaves, 1898, waterc. on pap., WWMF
- 997 Studies of Leaves and Poppy Heads, 1897, waterc. on pap., WWMF
- 998 Cucumbers, 1910, waterc. on pap., WWMF
- 1000 A Rooster and a Hen, 1905, waterc. on pap., WWMF
- 1001 A Rooster and a Hen, 1905, waterc. on pap., WWMF
- 1002 Turkeys, 1905, oil on cardb., WWMF
- 1003 Duck, 1905, waterc. on pap., WWMF
- 1004 Turkeys, 1908, waterc. on pap., WWMF
- 1005 Rooster, 1907, ink on pap., WWMF
- 1006 A Rooster and a Hen, 1905, waterc. on pap., WWMF
- 1007 A Rooster and a Hen, 1905, waterc. on pap., WWMF
- 1008 ink on pap, priv. coll.
- 1009 Pigeons, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.
- 1010 A Rooster and a Hen, 1905, waterc. on pap., WWMF

- 1011 Chickens, 1905, waterc. on pap., WWMF
- 1012 Birds, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.
- 1013 Roosters, 1910, ink on pap., WWMF
- 1014 Roosters and a Hen, carbon on pap., priv. coll.
- 1015 Sparrows I, 1912, waterc. on pap., WWMF
- 1016 Sparrows II, 1912, waterc. on pap., WWMF
- 1017 Frogs, carbon on pap., priv. coll.
- 1018 A frog, carbon on pap., priv. coll.
- 1019 Cat, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.
- 1020 Cat, ink on pap., priv. coll.
- 1021 Sleeping Cats, ink on pap., priv. coll.
- 1022 Sleeping Cats, ink on pap., priv. coll.
- 1023 Sleeping Cats, carbon, penc. on pap., priv. coll.
- 1024 Sleeping Cat, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.
- 1025 Sleeping Cats, 1899, carbon, penc. on pap., WWMF
- 1026 A Cat in the Window, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.
- 1108 Suicide at the Vistula, 1903, etching and aquatint on pap., WWMF
- 1125 Cypress Trees, 1901, etching, NMC
- 1183 *Artists' Ball in the Sokół Ballroom*, 1898, lith., waterc., pap., NMC
- 1187 *The 10th Exhibition of 'Sztuka'*, 1906, col. lith., NMC
- 1640 A Woman in a Japanese Coat, 1923, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1702 Aneri in a Deckchair, 1918, waterc. on cardb., priv. coll.
- 1703 Aneri on a Bench, 1918, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.
- 1704 Aneri Resting in the Orchard, 1918, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.
- 1734 A View from the Window, 1927-1939, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1975 *From the Studio's Window – A View of The Florian Gate*, 1941, woodbl., priv. coll.
- 1976 Cracow – The Barbican with Pigeons, 1942, woodbl., priv. coll.
- 1977 Cracow– The Barbican, 1942, woodbl., priv. coll.
- 1978 Cracow– The Barbican in the Winter, 1942, woodbl., priv. coll.
- 1979 Morning Sun Above the Barbican, 1940, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 1980 Old Railway Station in Cracow, 1925, woodbl., priv. coll.
- 1984 The Quarries - Rain, ca. 1925, monotype, priv. coll.

- 1985 Rocks and the Sun, ca. 1925, monotype, priv. coll.
- 1986 Sunset, ca. 1925, monotype, priv. coll.
- 1987 Winter Landscape – Snow, ca. 1925, monotype, priv. coll.
- 1988 Hoarfrost – *St Anna's Church in Cracow*, ca. 1928, monotype, priv. coll.
- 1992 Grasses, ca. 1920, penc. on pap., priv. coll.
- 2006 Feeding Cat, 1926, woodbl., priv. coll.
- 2007 Masks, 1944, woodbl., priv. coll.
- 2186 Floral Ornament, 1925, woodbl., priv. coll.
- 2199 cover for a portfolio of woodblocks, 1925, woodbl., priv. coll.

Whistler, James Abbott McNeill

- 89 Symphony in White No. 2: The Little White Girl, 1864, oil on canv., TB
- 90 Symphony in White No.1: The White Girl, 1862, oil on canv., NGAWDC
- 667 Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony, 1865, oil on board, FGAWDC
- 712 Nocturne: Blue and Gold - Old Battersea Bridge, ca. 1872-5, oil on canv., TB
- 1078 The Little Lagoon, 1859, etching and dry point on pap., FGAWDC

Winiarz, Jerzy Edward

- 1824 Cat, past. on pap., priv. coll.

Winkler, Konrad

- 1670 Still Life, 1946, oil on cardb., priv. coll.

Wiśniewski, T.

- 1693 Mimosa in a Japanese Vase, 1920s, oil on canv., priv. coll.

Witkiewicz, Stanisław

- 16 Lovarn, A Compositional Motif, 1905, gouache, pap., NMC
- 17 Lovarn, A Landscape Theme, 1905, gouache, pap., NMC
- 18 A View of the Baltic Sea in Palanga, 1885, oil on canv., NMW
- 19 Spring Mist, 1893, oil on canv., NMC

- 20 Forest, 1892, oil on canv., NMC
- 21 Black Pond – Kurniawa, 1892, oil on canv., NMC
- 22 Mountain Wind, 1895, oil on canv., NMC
- 23 A View of the Mountains – Winter Nest, 1906/7, oil on canv., NMC
- 24 Chamois in the Mountains, 1892, oil on canv., NMG
- 25 Winter Landscape in the Tatra Mountains, 1908, oil on canv., NMC

Witkiewicz, Stanisław Ignacy

- 661 Cameleon, 1918, past. on pap., NMC
- 662 Fox, 1918, past. on pap., NMC
- 674 Study of a Wave, 1904, ph., priv. coll.
- 795 Winter Landscape with a Creek, 1913, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 801 Winter Landscape, 1911, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 829 Winter Landscape II, 1912, oil on canv., MMPS
- 851 Autumnal Landscape, 1912, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 882 *Hińczów Ponds*, 1907, oil on canv., priv. coll.
- 956 Lion and Heracles, 1918, past. on pap., SSPLS
- 1629 Portrait of Eugenia Dunin-Borkowska, ca. 1912, oil on canv., TM
- 2010 Portrait of Maria Nawrocka, 1929, past. on pap., MMPS
- 2011 *Double Portrait of Helena Białynicka-Birula and Stefan Glass*, 1929, past. on pap., MMPS
- 2012 *Portrait of Michał Chromański with a long Neck*, 1928, past. on pap., NMW
- 2013 Portrait of Irena Krzywicka, 1928, past. on pap., MMPS
- 2014 Portrait of Stefan Glass, 1929, past. on pap., MMPS
- 2015 *Portrait of Maria Kamińska*, 1936, past. on pap., priv. coll.
- 2016 *Portrait of Michał Krajewski*, 1930, past. on pap., MMPS
- 2017 Portrait of a Woman, 1929, past. on pap., priv. coll.
- 2018 *Portrait of Helena Białynicka-Birula*, 1930, past. on pap., MMPS
- 2019 *Portrait of Małgorzata Żukotyńska*, 1928, past. on pap., MMPS
- 2020 *Portrait of Włodzimierz Nawrocki*, 1929, past. on pap., MMPS
- 2021 Portrait of Nena Stachurska, 1929, past. on pap., NMP
- 2022 Portrait of Irena Fedorowicz, 1929, past. on pap., priv. coll.
- 2023 Portrait of Maria Nawrocka, 1929, past. on pap., MMPS

- 2024 *Portrait of Władysław Nelken*, 1931, past. on pap., MMPS
- 2025 *Mongolian Prince's Kiss in The Ice Desert*, 1915-1918, gouache on pap., NMW
- 2028 Composition, 1922, oil on canv., NMC
- 2029 The Temptation of St Anthony II, 1921-1922, oil on canv., NMC

Wodziński, Józef

- 31 Lady with a Dog, 2 h. 19 c., temp. on cardb., priv. coll.
- 601 Saloon, ca. 1915, waterc. on pap., priv. coll.

Wojnarski, Jan

- 1116 Landscape by the River, 1909, lith., priv. coll.
- 1119 Ruins at the Pond, 1911, col. lith., priv. coll.
- 1124 Planty in Cracow, 1909, col. lith., priv. coll.
- 1970 Waves in the Baltic Sea, lith., priv. coll.

Wojtkiewicz, Witold

- 303 *Invitation to 'Green Balloon'*, ca. 1907, lith., pap., NMC
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- 441 *Czułostkowi (tragicomic series of sketches)*, 1904, waterc., ink, gouache, crayon on pap., NMC
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- 443 *Jadwiga Mrozowska and Andrzej Mielewski in Aleksander Fredro's Play 'Śluby Panieńskie'*, 1904, lith. and crayon on pap., NMW
- 444 The Last Act, waterc., ink, pencil on pap., NMP
- 445 Adoration (World of Fables I, On a Bench in the Park), 1905, lith. and crayon on pap., NMP
- 446 Rest (World of Fables I, On a Bench in the Park), 1905, lith., crayon on pap., NMW

- 447 Meditation (Ash Wednesday)/Ceremonies VII, 1908, temp. on canv., NMC
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- 451 *Unlit candle (Jadwiga Mrozowska in the play by Jerzy Żuławski, 'Eros and Psyche')*, 1904, lith., crayon, ink on pap., NMC
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- 1051 *Jadwiga Mrozowska in 'Anastazja' by Eliza Orzeszkowa/Teka Melpomeny*, 1904, lith. on pap., NMC
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- 566 Roses, 1913, past., gouache, pap., priv. coll.
- 567 Flowers in the Window, 1908, past., gouache, temp., oil, ink, pap., DMT
- 568 Frieze with Anemones, Fabric and Flasks, 1909, past., gouache, pap., LGA
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- 267 Obi , 2 h. 19 c., silk, NMC
- 269 Screen, fragm., 2 h. 19 c., silk, pap. , wood, NMC
- 270 Japanese textile, 19 c., silk, silver paper strips, NMC
- 271 Temple hanging, late 18 c., silk, thread and thin strips of gold pap., two wrap threads, many weft threads, NMC
- 272 Uchikake kimono, 19 c., silk crepe, plain woollen silk, stencil pattern dyed in the yûzen method, embroidery with silk thread, NMC
- 273 Figure of a Buddhist monk, 19 c., carved and painted wood, NMC
- 274 Amida Buddha against mandala background, 1 h. 14 c., carved wood and lacq., NMC
- 275 Amida Buddha, 17-18 c., carved wood and lacq., NMC
- 276 Three Gods of Fortune, okimono, ca. 1820-1860, carved ivory, brown pigment, NMC
- 277 Boy with a little mask and a little top, okimono, 19 c., carved ivory, details highlighted with brown pigment, NMC
- 278 Ko-omote (Nô mask), 18-19 c., carved and painted wood, gofun paste, NMC
- 279-283 Netsuke toggles shaped as masks, 19 c., ivory, animal bone, mother-of-pearl, black and brown pigment, MNC
- 284 Kyôdai dressing table, 19 c., nashiji lacq., wood, gold and silver dust (hiramakie), copper, NMC
- 285 Vase, late 19 c., copper, cloisonné enamel, silver wire, silver fittings, NMC
- 286 Vase with a Dragon, 19 c., bronze cast, chased details, NMC
- 287 Cha-wan bowl, 2 h. 19 c., glazed earthenware, filling covered with gold paint, NMC
- 288 Cha-wan bowl with a creeper motif, 19 c., earthenware, finely cracked glaze, painted decoration, NMC
- 289 Katagami stencil, 19 c., impregnated pap. from mulberry bark, silk net, NMC
- 290 Samurai suit of armour with a helmet and mask, 17-18 c., NMC
- 291 Samurai suit of armour with a helmet and mask, Edo period, NMC

- 293 Stanisław Dębicki's letter to Feliks Jasieński, Princes Czartoryskis' Library in Cracow
- 294 Townhouse at the corner of St John's Street and the Market Square in Cracow, Jasieński occupied its second floor, ph. Piotr Sławski
- 295 Interior of Jasieński's flat, bef. 1914, ph., NMC
- 296 Feliks Jasieński's Museum's stamp, NMC
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- 299 Jama Michalika (Michalik's Den), café in Floriańska St. in Cracow, ph. by Piotr Sławski
- 300 Zielony Balonik (Green Balloon) Cabaret, ph.
- 304 One Hundred Night Phantoms, 19 c., emakimono, ink and waterc. on pap., NMC
- 307-321 Japanese and Japanese-inspired vignettes, Chimera
- 322-330 Fan-shaped vignettes, Chimera
- 331-342 Japanese and Japanese-inspired vignettes, Chimera
- 357 Stanisław Dębicki's letter to Feliks Jasieński, 25 February, 1906, PCLC
- 383-407 Ukiyo-e prints from Wojciech Weiss's coll.
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- 412-413 Katagami from Wojciech Weiss's coll.
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- 425 Japanese parasol from Wojciech Weiss's coll.
- 430 Feliks Jasieński mounting his exhibition at the Cloth Hall in Cracow in December 1902, ph., NMC
- 432 Józef Piłsudski
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- 457 Kościuszko Mound in Cracow, ph. by Piotr Sławski
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- 493 Portrait of Feliks Jasieński by Józef Pankiewicz at the artist's studio at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts, 1908, ph., NMW

- 504 Shrine with a figure of a Buddhist monk and two deities, 18 c., gilded and painted wood, NMC
- 524 Kimono, Edo Period, NMC
- 528 Wanda Pankiewicz in a kimono in husband's studio at Cracow Academy of Fine Arts, ph. NMW
- 530 Wanda Pankiewicz in Basztowa St apartment, 1908, NMW
- 535 Table, lacquered wood, hiramakie decoration, NMC
- 536 Furisode kimono, silk, metal thread, damask-woven silk, NMC
- 537 Vase inlaid with an image of a bird and pomegranates, bronze inlaid, NMC
- 538 Obi sash, 2 h. 19 c., silk fabric, NMC
- 543 Vase decorated with a blue landscape, 1790-1840, Chinese, porcelain, NMC
- 545 Senju-Kannon bosatsu statue and shrine, 18-19 c., wood, lacquer, NMC
- 560 Vase, 19 c., Japan, porcelain painted with cobalt, NMW
- 598 Heron, 19 c., cast in bronze, NMC
- 921 Postcard from Leon Wyczółkowski's collection, LWMB
- 1040 The Second Zen Patriarch in Contemplation, 13 c., attributed to Shi Ke, Important Cultural Property, NMT
- 1193 The decision of the Japanese government to recognize the independence of the Polish state, 6 March 1919, the archive of Japanese diplomacy at The Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Tokyo
- 1194 The permanent exhibition of Japanese art from Feliks Jasieński's collection at the Szolajski tenement house in Cracow, 1939, ph., NMC
- 1196 Ginger container with bean creeper design, ca. 1880-1890, cloisonné enamel on porcelain (tojitai-shippo), NMW, from Ignacy Paderewski's coll.
- 1197 Plate, Arita, imari ware, ca. 1720-1740, porcelain painted with cobalt blue and enamels, NMW, from Ignacy Paderewski's coll.
- 1198 Trey, ca. 1860-1870, cloisonné enamel on copper, NMW, from Ignacy Paderewski's coll.
- 1199 Netsuke – boy bathing in a tub, 19 c., ivory, NMW
- 1200 Aikuchi dagger with a lacquer sheath, 19 c., iron, black and gold lacquer, silver fittings, silk ribbon, NMW
- 1205 Box with a lid depicting Hotei, late 19 c., wood, red carved lacquer, NMW
- 1206 Okimono – crab, 19/20 c., ivory, hardwood, NMW
- 1207 Tiger, 19/20 c., painted bronze, chiseled and gilt, NMW
- 1208 Okimono-two geishas, 19/20 c., ivory, NMW

- 1209 Okimono-vegetables seller, early 20 c., ivory, NMW
- 1210 Vases, Arita, 2 hf. 17 c., white and blue porcelain painted with underglaze cobalt blue, NMW
- 1211 Figurine of a bijin, Arita, ca. 1700-1730, porcelain painted with underglaze cobalt blue and overglaze ferrous red and gold, NMW
- 1212 Netsuke – a dancer wearing a lion mask, 19 c., ivory, NMW
- 1213 Netsuke—Oniwakamaru with fish, 18 c., ivory, NMW
- 1214 Netsuke—an actor in an okame mask, 19 c., hardwood, ivory, NMW
- 1215 Tsuba, early 20 c., shakudô and sentoku alloys, gilt, NMW
- 1216 Tsuba, 19 c., forged iron, patinated, gilt copper, silver, shakudô alloy, togidashi nunome gilding, NMW
- 1217 Tsuba, 19 c., forged iron, patinated, gilt copper, silver, shakudô alloy, togidashi nunome gilding, NMW
- 1218 Netsuke—Ashinaga and Tenaga, late 19 c., ivory inlaid with mother-of-pearl, NMW
- 1219 Censer with an openwork lid showing a lion figure, 2nd hf. 19 c., copper, shakudô alloy, partly gilt, NMW
- 1220 Candlesticks, 19 c., painted bronze, engraved decoration, NMW
- 1225 Vase, late 19 c., musen enamel on copper, silver, NMW
- 1226 Flacon, late 19 c., cloisonné enamel on copper, NMW
- 1228 A pair of vases, 19/20 c., cloisonné enamel on copper, silver-plated, NMW
- 1229 Vase, 19/20 c., cloisonné enamel on copper, partly gilt, NMW
- 1230 Flacon, late 19 c., cloisonné enamel on copper, NMW
- 1231 Flacon, late 19 c., cloisonné enamel on copper, NMW
- 1232 Flacon, 19/20 c., oxidized silver, silver, shakudô alloy, enamel, gilding, NMW
- 1233 Flacon, 19/20 c., silver cut in openwork design and repousséd, enamel, NMW
- 1234 Flacon, 19/20 c., iron, silver, gold, enamels, NMW
- 1235 Teapot, 19/20 c., cloisonné enamel on copper, partly gilt, NMW
- 1236 Tray, late 19 c., musen enamel on copper, silver, NMW
- 1237 Pot, 19/20 c., cloisonné enamel on copper, mica-sprayed background, NMW
- 1238 Tray, late 19 c., wood, black roiro lacquer, sprinkled with gold and silver, NMW
- 1239 Box decorated with flying geese, 19/20 c., bronze, shibuchi and shakudô alloys, gold, silver, NMW

- 1240 Ôgi-type fan, 19/20 c., silk, ivory, NMW
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- 1242 Flacon, 19/20 c., iron, silver, gold, enamel, NMW
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- 1245 Inrô, 19 c., wood, black and brown lacquer, relief decoration, inlaid in ceramic plates, NMW
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- 1247 Box, 19 c., wood, brown lacquer, gold and silver takamaki-e relief, bone, NMW
- 1248 Censer in the shape of a frog under a lotus leaf, painted bronze, chiseled, NMW
- 1249 Tsuba, Yoshiro school style, 17/18 c., forged iron, painted, inlaid with brass in low relief, NMW
- 1250 Tsuba, Awa-Kenjo school style, early 18 c., forged iron, inlaid with gold, NMW
- 1251 Sippô tsuba, Onin school, 16 c., forged iron, painted, inlaid with see-through brass, NMW
- 1252 Kuruma tsuba, Migaki or Shoami school, 18 c., forged iron, painted, inlaid with brass, NMW
- 1254 Sumi iri mukkô tsuba, 19 c., sentoku, shibuichi and shakudô alloys, silver, gold, inlaid in high and low relief, NMW
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- 1256 The Polish-Japanese Society’s Ball, 1938, ph., NDA
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- 1303 Former Prime Minister of Japan Shigenobu Okuma, prof of Waseda University Masada Shiozawa and Karol Frycz, Tokyo 1920, TMW
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- 1362 Chinese Lake View with a Palace Lady Riding a Deer, 2nd qtr. 13 c., ink and col. on silk, BMFA
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- 2313-2315 *Le Japon Artistique. Documents d'Art et d'Industrie* by Samuel Bing, CAFAL, ph. Piotr Sławski